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EDITORIAL

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO GARTH

Jimmy Carter has become the defender of the two-party system. He won't debate Ronald Reagan if John Anderson the Independent gets a crack at the two of them. "He doesn't have a party," says the Democrat who has done as much as anyone to knock down the remnants of the party structure about the Independent he calls "primarily a creation of the press." No recognition in that formulation of his own great part in creating a candidate of the large Anybody But Carter or Reagan faction.

The September primaries underlined in bright neon the disintegration of parties in our political life, especially in New York. Senator Jacob Javits was smashed by a right-to-life rightist who ran a brutal campaign against Javits's health. But Javits may be resurrected as a Liberal in November, running on the same line of the ballot as Anderson. That is a powerful combination and one that could easily cost Carter New York's forty-one electoral votes. No wonder Carter is reborn as a stout party man.

It may be too late. We are deep into the age of manipulation. One of the few hopeful results of the September 9 voting was the victory in the New York Democratic senatorial primary of Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman, whose principal rival, the millionaire consumerist Bess Myerson, portrayed Holtzman as practically traitorous because of her record on "defense."

That bad stuff was done under the aegis of David Garth, Myerson's media manager. Garth, the archmanipulator, is running Anderson's national campaign. It will be harder to project such incivility on the national scene, but we shouldn't count on its absence. Garth has said that 1980 may be the dirtiest campaign ever, and he can fulfill his own prophecy.

RUSSIAN CONSUMER DEMAND
Fred Halliday

AFTER GDANSK
Sidney Lens

THE CZECHS' SHORT SPRING
Jiri Wyatt

DU PONT AND BLACKS
Richard Severo

ANGOLA
Christopher Hitchens

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY
Bertram Gross

THE PLASTIC TOWER

BUSINESS GOES BACK TO COLLEGE

DAVID F. NOBLE and NANCY E. PFUND

There is nothing subtle about the way the Academy reflects changing social conditions. At last spring's commencement exercises at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example, Dr. Jerome Wiesner, then president of America's premier technical school, a former Presidential science adviser in a quintessentially liberal Administration, lauded a recent decision to deregulate oil and gas prices and decried the actions of "irresponsible regulators." The spirit of the times was even more aptly symbolized this commencement day by the fact that the president of a Houston-based consulting firm for the petrochemical industry (who is also president of the M.I.T. Alumni Association) strode at the head of the faculty procession, wearing the Elizabethan parliamentary robes of the Chief Marshal and bearing the four-foot golden mace, symbol of academic authority. The ceremony captured the new reality of higher education in America: the ivory tower turned to plastic.

For the third time in this century, the universities are undergoing a major transformation, in response to a fundamental shift in the economic and political climate. During the first decades of the century, the elitist liberal-arts colleges were expanded and rapidly transformed into research and training centers for the then-emergent electrical and chemical industries. In the 1940s the universities' primary ties were transferred from private industry to the Federal Government as they became centers of contract research for military and other governmenta' agencies. This phase reached its full flowering in the policy

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LETTERS.

NEWSPAPER, NOT SHOPPER

New York City

The specter of LaRouchism ["The Strange Odyssey of Lyndon LaRouche," *The Nation*, Aug. 16] is indeed as frightening as Frank Donner and Randall Rothenberg suggest. Since our publication of Dennis King's 20,000-word report on the LaRouchites, *Our Town* has been subjected to a campaign of harassment (including threats, hate mail and a multimillion-dollar lawsuit) by the U.S. Labor Party right in line with its paranoid politics. For those of us to whom LaRouche's fascism is obvious, the most troubling aspect of his Presidential bid is the number (albeit minuscule) of people who buy the U.S.L.P. line.

One note: your readers may wonder how a "New York City community shopper" came to publish a twelve-part series on LaRouche. We are a "community paper" in the best sense of that phrase. But the fact that *Our Town* is distributed, rather than sold on the newsstand, makes it no more a shopper than, say, *The Nation.*

Edward R. Kayatt,
Publisher, Our Town

VONNEGUT SATISFACTION

Seattle

In Robert K. Musil's interview with Kurt Vonnegut ["There Must Be More to Love Than Death," *The Nation,* Aug. 2-9], Vonnegut says that he does not know how "people react to the sort of destruction depicted" in *Slaughterhouse Five.* The following reminiscence of mine may interest him:

A few years ago, being a fan of his, I went to a $1 midnight showing of *Slaughterhouse Five* in a movie house near the University of Washington. The audience, except for me, was made up of young people. At the point in the movie where the beautiful view of Dresden is shortly followed by a picture of the rubble created by the bombing, there was an unbelievable hush in the full theater. You could really have heard a pin drop. Then from the rear, a stentorian voice shouted: "Fuck war!" There was a second of hesitation, then loud, sustained applause. It was an unforgettably moving moment for everyone in the theater, I am sure.

So Vonnegut should feel some satisfaction. I am sure he strengthened a lot of pacifists and created a few new ones.

Abraham C. Keller

VONNEGUT DISSATISFACTION

Los Angeles

Reading Kurt Vonnegut's well-intentioned and fascinating view about the disastrous state of man's universe, I was surprised by his statement that the bombing of Dresden with its 135,000 casualties was the largest massacre in the history of Europe. If "massacre" means, according to Webster, "the killing of human beings under circumstances of atrocity or cruelty," I can't understand how Vonnegut could overlook both the Crusades and the cruelest of all—the Holocaust. True, he had been there at Dresden and it has a special meaning for him, but such a lapse from a man so concerned about the survival of mankind is inexplicable.

Michael Blankfort

OIL CUSHION

Washington

Peter Achnacarry ["What the D.O.J. Didn't Tell Us," *The Nation,* Aug. 30-Sept. 6] asks whether the major oil companies will "be allowed to run down [the present high level of oil inventories], creating scarcity conditions so that the next political upheaval in an oil-exporting state again becomes an excuse for jacking up prices."

The answer is yes, unless the Government takes steps to insure that the companies act in the national interest rather than in their own pecuniary interest. The next question, of course, is can the Government force the oil companies to maintain oil inventories at levels that would insure an adequate measure of protection from oil supply disruption? Certainly; other nations—Japan and Germany, for example—require the industry to meet certain inventory levels as a cushion, particularly in view of the instability of certain oil supply sources. At the very minimum, the U.S. Government could mandate that oil companies keep stocks of crude oil and products at maximum feasible levels in the national interest.

Since petroleum inventories are the nation's first line of defense against oil supply disruption, since the oil companies should have no objection to carrying out their patriotic duty and since the Government has repeatedly stated that the nation must be protected from oil supply cutbacks, it is only logical that oil companies be required to maintain adequate inventories and be prohibited from running down those stocks in their own self-interest.

Edwin Rothschild
Director, Energy Action

DEFENDS EUREKA

Chicago

I was most distressed by an unnecessary and thoughtless aspersion on Ronald Reagan's *alma mater,* Eureka College, in a recent issue of *The Nation* [E. L. Doctorow, "The Rise of Ronald Reagan," July 19-26]. As a 1976 graduate of Eureka, I was also offended that the statement was so clearly inaccurate. . . .

Reagan is undoubtedly the best known of Eureka's graduates, but his fellow alumni include a large number of distinguished men and women, including twenty-seven who have become presidents of American colleges and universities. . . .

Eureka was the first college in Illinois and only the third in the nation to offer a college degree program to women on an equal basis with men. Ever since its founding, minority group students have studied there; currently Eureka has one of the highest percentages of minority group students of any Northern college.

Eureka is different from most colleges and universities—it is smaller, more personal, more committed to a curriculum of liberal arts and sciences—but it is not today, nor was it when Governor Reagan attended, anything close to a "fifth-rate" college.

Philip J. Palin

CREDIT DUE

Due to an inadvertent editing slip, Russ Bellant was not given proper credit in our article "The Strange Odyssey of Lyndon LaRouche" [*The Nation*, Aug. 16]. Bellant's knowledge, information and source material, gathered over the course of a decade's worth of research on the U.S. Labor Party, proved to be an invaluable aid in our research. The story could not have been written without his help.

Randall Rothenberg
Frank Donner

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EDITORIALS.

Harold Clurman

With his velvet cape, the hat worn at a jaunty tilt, the boulevardier's cane that seemed more prop than necessity, Harold Clurman was a life force as well as the theater critic of this magazine for twenty-seven years. Among Broadway folk, he was an institution. At a banquet held last year to celebrate the naming of a theater in Clurman's honor, one of them, the playwright Arthur Miller, gave this review of Clurman's performance in the critic's role: "As a commentator on the theater Harold has no peer."

Harold was, during his 78 years, more than a drama critic; he was a consummate theater man. The writer Raymond Chandler once said that the more one knows about an art form the less one can criticize it; that was not true with Clurman. His variegated and distinguished career as an actor, director and producer deepened and enriched his criticism. As founder and moving force of the Group Theater during the 1930s, he staked out his unwavering opposition to crass Broadway commercialism; with the meretricious he was ever merciless. But he also had little time for the pretentiously arty. In a sympathetic but skeptical review of Peter Brook's production of *The Conference of the Birds*—the last review he wrote for *The Nation*—he delivered this dictum: "Let us not mistake high intention for achievement. To do so is to fall subject to the error of our usual cultural procedures: faddism, an appetite for novelty for its own sake, a subject for cafe chatter, pedantic or ecstatic twaddle."

In a future issue, Arthur Miller will discuss more fully Harold's life and contributions; now, we can only make bare mention of what a dynamic, passionate, electric man he was. Of his talk, Brendan Gill wrote: "Words tumble out of him with something like the abundance and inventiveness of the fountains in the high green grottoes and dusky terraces at Tivoli." In his very first review in *The Nation* (February 21, 1953), Clurman proclaimed, "The basis of drama is action." The basis of Harold Clurman's life in the theater was action, and the effects were profound. His life is ended, but the force of it has set off reverberations that will continue for years to come.

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Royal Secrets

The White House has announced a new super classification known as "Royal." The category would supposedly be reserved for ultrasecret stuff, and only the President, a handful of White House officials and a few Congressmen would have access to it. Some may question whether this is a truly new system or a counterploy to reports that an intercepted Libyan cable about Billy Carter was classified Royal and that the term is actually "a compartmental designation to protect the White House from political embarrassment," in the words of *New York Times* columnist William Safire.

The official explanation is that Director of Central Intelligence Stansfield Turner and Zbigniew Brzezinski plumped for the new system. It seems there is so much classified material being turned out these days that intelligence people can't tell the difference between normal and really sensitive information.

Rather than set up a private Presidential security system (with access limited to a Royal "we"—shades of Richard Nixon!), we propose that all classified material—whether Confidential or Top Secret Umbra or so secret that the classification is classified or even Eyes Only Rosalynn—be declassified and deposited in a Spy Library. The Spy Library would be open to all foreign agents, registered or unregistered, who can prove a sincere interest in espionage. It will be an open-stack library with all the documents precisely indexed. The spies will thus be free to snoop around to their hearts' content. The difference is that they will no longer have their work done for them by the Government. Without the various levels of classification clearly stamped on each document, it will be impossible for them to tell what is a "normal" secret and what is a "really sensitive" one. *The Nation* volunteers to serve as a repository for this material if the Carnegie people will come up with a suitable building. Something in travertine marble, please.

Consumer Demand

Moscow

The crisis in Poland has in dramatic fashion highlighted the basic concerns of Soviet foreign policy. Such issues as Afghanistan and Iran appear trivial, and manageable, compared to the challenge that Poland presents. It is not, in immediate terms, the challenge of having to decide whether to invade, but a more insidious one that may have graver long-term effects. As one Russian put it to me last week: "We know the working class is not interested in democracy. But they are interested in material goods. Once the Russian workers see the strikes in Poland succeeding they may decide to do the same thing in the U.S.S.R."

The problem of living standards is the single lens through which the whole range of foreign policy issues is being viewed by Russian people. Afghanistan is unpopular, not so much because of Soviet casualties but because it is believed that the Soviet Union is subsidizing the Afghan regime with money and material goods that are in short supply at home. A current Moscow joke has it that "if you want to get a good steak, the only place to go is Kabul." Quips about Afghanistan being "the sixteenth state of the U.S.S.R." aside, many Russians see it as one more Third World sinkhole, like Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia and the rest, into which the scarce resources of the Soviet people are being poured.

This economic preoccupation also colored popular attitudes toward the Olympics. There seems to have been some disappointment over the lack of foreign teams attending the Olympics, which the authorities countered by stressing the thirty-six world records broken in the Games. But Muscovites welcomed the two-week period of the Games because out-of-town Russians were barred from the city, leaving trams and restaurants comparatively empty and stores better stocked. One small commodity did, however, provoke some questioning: the provision of fruit juices from Finland. Since that country has a climate at least as bad as Russia's, its ability to provide supplies to the Moscow market underscored, once again, the failure to meet consumer demand that preoccupies the Russian leadership. Officials admit there is growing resentment about shortages, and reliable reports also confirm persistent rumors that a brief strike occurred earlier this year in the Togliattigrad car works, an event that led to a Central Committee member being dispatched with two trainloads of consumer goods.

Soviet living standards are much higher than they were a decade or two ago, and in some areas, such as rent, health care and holiday provisions, they compare favorably with the situation of workers in the West. Yet this genuine improvement has only generated greater discontent: flats are built, but there is no furniture to put in them. And the discontent has even produced a wave of nostalgia for the Stalin era. Men with portraits of Joseph Stalin tattooed on their chests can be seen in Soviet towns, and even such a bogus move as Stalin's lowering of the price of caviar on his birthday, when few could afford such a delicacy, is remembered with affection by older people.

Despite domestic resentment over what they see as official profligacy abroad, the Soviet Union is encountering new problems in its relations with Third World countries. In Afghanistan, the Soviet army is evidently able to hold the main cities and communications centers and is prepared for a long-haul attrition campaign against the rebels. As one Soviet official said: "We have a rich experience of such things in the campaign against rebels in Central Asia in the 1920s. They may disembowel our officers and sabotage installations, but we will stay there until the job is finished." The greatest problem the Russians face is the factional conflict within the Afghan Government itself, which has destroyed the fragile coalition patched together after the Soviet intervention last December. With the leader of the Khalq faction, Assadullah Sarwari, sent off as Ambassador

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ITEM. ITEM. ITEM.

■ **Almost buried in the landslide of words written about the Billy Carter affair is the charge that he had met with a gunrunner named Frank Terpil to discuss the sale of a quantity of machine guns to Libya. (Billy now denies the meeting took place.) The stories did little more than identify Terpil as a former C.I.A. man, but a fuller picture of his gunrunning enterprises emerged in a Federal grand jury investigation in Washington last year. The hearings resulted in the indictment of Terpil and his associate, Edwin Wilson, also a former C.I.A. man, for illegal arms shipments to Libya, conspiracy to transport explosives, conspiracy to murder and failure to register as agents of a foreign government.**

The indictments (reports Murray Waas) charge that Terpil and Wilson provided Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddifi with "terrorist training programs" between August 1976 and January 1978. This involved sending seven instructors in the black arts to Libya; Terpil and Wilson also sold Libya "183 pounds of time-control devices" (used to detonate car bombs and the like) and explosive devices disguised as ashtrays, lamps, alarm clocks and vases.

Another of the pair's Libyan projects, the grand jury found, was the assassination of a former member of the Libyan Revolutionary Council, Umar Abdulla Muhayshi, who had broken with Qaddafi in 1975. Terpil and Wilson allegedly offered a hit man $1 million to do the job but the actual attempt misfired. Since then, nine other Libyan exiles have been assassinated. Whether these murders were class projects of Terpil-Wilson students is not known.

In a conversation tape-recorded by U.S. undercover agents, Terpil boasted that he had successfully carried out an assassination for former Ugandan dictator Idi Amin. There is an even more tantalizing revelation from a New York City D.A.: "By his own admission, Mr. Terpil trained Illyich Ramiriz Sanches, who is known as 'Carlos,' an internationally wanted terrorist, who is believed to have led the raid on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich in 1972."

In Terpil and Wilson's defense it could be said that they only turned their hands to what they knew best—terrorism—rather than engaging in something truly reprehensible like writing an unauthorized book about the Agency.

■ In September's Campaign Flap of the Week over who was accusing whom of being a Klansymp, Reagan and Carter never laid a glove on the real issue—the modest resurgence of the Klan, as well as the American Nazi movement. Running as candidates for Congress on the Democratic and Republican party lines are a present Grand Dragon of the California Klan and a former Klansman and Nazi. Tom Metzger won the Democratic Congressional nomination in California's 43rd District this summer (see Joseph Gusfield, "The Klandidate," *The Nation,* July 5). In Michigan's 15th District the Republican hopeful is Gerald Carlson, who now has his own National Christian Democratic Party, but who was associated with the Klan and a Nazi group in Detroit. Then there is Louisiana's Grand Wizard, David Duke, who finished second, with 33 percent of the vote, in last November's contest for the 10th State Senate District seat; and Harold Covington of North Carolina, head of the National Socialist Party of America (Nazi), who took 43 percent of the vote in losing the Republican primary race for State Attorney General.

Both Metzger's and Carlson's victories caught the local Democratic and Republican organizations by surprise, and party leaders have disowned them. But surely the persistence of these groups, which the major candidates routinely denounce like sin, is a symptom of a deeper social and economic malaise. Instead of outdoing each other in raising the ante of nuclear violence, Carter and Reagan should be addressing the social ills that produce the racial tensions upon which the Nazis and the Klan thrive.

■ **On page 253, Jean Bethke Elshtain reviews a biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a pioneering American feminist. Stanton, along with Lucretia Mott and Martha Coffin Wright (Mott's younger sister), instigated the famous Seneca Falls convention on women's rights in 1848. Mott died November 11, 1880, and a Lucretia Mott Centennial Coalition has been formed to honor her (1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102). Margaret Bacon, author of *Valiant Friend*, a biography of Mott, writes to tell us that Lucretia Mott was present, in a manner of speaking, at the creation of *The Nation*. Herewith a letter she wrote to Martha Wright on April 19, 1865:**

> **Miller McKim is very full of this new Union Association and the paper to be called "The Nation"—He and Wendell P. G[arrison] to be editors [Garrison became literary editor; McKim, Garrison's future father-in-law, was actually a backer; E. L. Godkin was *The Nation*'s first editor]; they are collecting money on a large scale—Wm Buchanan who never before was called on, gives $1,000—Miller would like all A.S. [Anti-Slavery] and Freedman's Societies to be merged in this—a Reconstruction Union—He sent an appeal to our Friends Association—I told him it was objected that woman was ignored in their organization and if really a reconstruction for the nation she ought not be and it would be rather a "come down" for our Anti-Slavery and Quaker women to consent to be thus overlooked after suffering the A.S. Society to "split" in 1840 rather than yield—and after claiming our right so earnestly in London for a seat in the Convention—He was rather taken aback; said if there seemed a necessity for women he thought they would be admitted—to which the impetuous reply was "seemed a necessity! for half the nation to act with you!" and the larger too we might say—so many men slain. You ought to have been here.**

What Oswald Garrison Villard, a later editor, wrote of his predecessor E. L. Godkin, he might well have said of McKim: "On the question of the enfranchisement of women his blind eye was at the telescope, though he fought bravely for their higher education and achieved a great deal, much more than he has been given credit for." As for today, all we can say is that if Ms. Mott walked into our offices, we would offer her a desk and a typewriter and our traditional equal low pay for articles.

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to Outer Mongolia, it appears for the time being that the Parcham faction of Babrak Karmal is now in control. Yet Karmal has been forced to resort to executions of Khalqi rivals, after initially pledging to discontinue this practice, and there seems to be no prospect in the near future of a stable Afghan Government that can reduce its reliance on Soviet support.

The economic demands of Afghanistan will therefore continue, and even if the military difficulties subside within a year or two, the problems the Russians have begun to encounter with two other Third World allies, Ethiopia and South Yemen, will remain. In the former, local officials are complaining with increasing bluntness about the poor quality of Soviet and East German technical aid. The Ethiopian airline, for example, has, despite considerable pressure, refused to buy Soviet planes for its fleet. Ironically, the Cubans are advising the Ethiopians how to avoid "their mistakes"—particularly, how to prevent their economy from being too closely locked into that of the Eastern European bloc. Despite its political break with the West, and growing alarm about U.S. support for Somalia, Ethiopia still exports the bulk of its main foreign currency earner, coffee, to Western markets.

South Yemen has become almost a copybook case of Soviet errors in economic aid. In 1978, after a factional dispute within the leadership, in which the Russians were not directly involved, a Government generally sympathetic to Moscow came into office. This new Government, led by President Abdul Fatah Ismail, would, it was hoped, attract through its ideological alignment the development funds South Yemen desperately needed, which the Arab states and the West were not providing. The money did not come, however, and resentment against Russia grew. Increasingly long power cuts were blamed on the Russians' failure to build a generating plant promised in 1974. Soviet residents were resented for shopping in the rationed popular markets instead of their own commissaries. And Soviet fishing ships were accused of violating catch limitations set in a treaty between the two countries. With television from North Yemen beaming in pictures of abundant consumer goods there, as well as American serials, the mood swung away from Moscow. As a result, President Ismail was forced to resign in April. While the South Yemenis are not planning to "do a Sadat" and expel the Russians, they are now turning to the Arab world for the economic support the Russians have failed to provide.

It is the economic factor that will also determine Soviet feelings about a new arms race with the West. While the Russians derive a covert glee from the way that Ronald Reagan antagonizes Peking, and while they seem to expect improved relations with the new Chinese leadership, they must also look with foreboding on the financial implications of increased arms expenditures. There can be little doubt that they will, however, respond to any American drive to become "Number One" with a comparable effort. The leadership will present such a U.S. move to the people as another instance of the West forcing them to spend more on armaments, thereby making it necessary to deprive the people of material goods. Gone are the days when Western analysts could portray Russia as threatened by an Islamic resurgence. It is meat, not mullahs, that poses the greatest dilemmas for the Soviet leadership. FRED HALLIDAY

Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, and an editorial associate of New Left Review *and* MERIP Reports. *He is a regular contributor to* The Nation.

ARTICLES.

AFTER GDANSK

Poland's Titoist Alternative

SIDNEY LENS

None of the dire predictions of the Western press came to pass during the highly successful Polish strikes this August. The stoppages were not suppressed by police terror, nor did Soviet troops march into Warsaw and Gdansk. Instead, the Edward Gierek Government granted a host of concessions, ranging from wage increases of $17 to $34 a month and improved maternity benefits to free labor unions and a promise to liberate political prisoners and respect the right to strike. It was a great victory for labor, and in the long run for Communism.

But Poland's travail is just beginning. Wage increases that go beyond 30 percent for the poorest workers must somehow be paid for without inflation, further austerity, or a substantial increase in a foreign debt that is already crushingly large for a country such as Poland—more than $20 billion. Where will the money come from for these and other benefits that may be wrung from the Polish regime as the new trade unions flex their muscles?

Some of it may be offset by additional Soviet loans and perhaps more American money (the United States currently supplies $550 million a year in agricultural credits and has indicated it may boost that sum). But in the final analysis the major source can only be higher productivity within the Polish economy itself. And the only realistic means of achieving higher productivity is by shifting from the present form of Communism to another, more decentralized, form.

Sidney Lens is a contributing editor of The Progressive. *His latest book, an autobiography, is titled* Unrepentant Radical *(Beacon Press).*

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Theoretically (all things are possible theoretically) Poland could turn back from Communism to capitalism. That, no doubt, was a latent hope of many Americans who equate "freedom" with "free enterprise" and pray that free unions will be a first step toward capitalism. But even if that were to take place, a capitalist Poland would be no more viable than a Communist Poland, probably much less so. Poland is not very likely to adopt the "free enterprise" panacea. Not even the intellectual dissidents in the Committee for Social Self-Defense want or expect it. And if they did there would be no way to bring it about. Can anyone envision state-owned Polish steel mills or shipyards being put up for sale to private entrepreneurs? There is certainly no single individual or group of individuals within Poland capable of raising even a fraction of the capital needed, and it is impossible to conceive of a sovereign nation selling its major assets to multinational companies overseas. The capitalist road is clearly a mirage.

Theoretically, it is also possible that Poland will simply drift and that its leaders will wait a few months, then try to take back the benefits granted in August. That would entail a wave of arrests and repressions, but it is an alternative that cannot be totally excluded. Yet it is difficult to believe that the heads of the Polish United Workers' Party are that myopic. They may be constrained by subtle and sub rosa Soviet pressures. But in the back of their minds certainly is the memory of 1970 when fifty workers were killed by troops during another shipyard strike protesting higher food prices; the rioting that followed led to the political demise of Wladyslaw Gomulka. They undoubtedly also recall the 1976 riots, again to resist price boosts.

There is a strong possibility, then, that Poland will do what Yugoslavia did in the 1950s, what Czechoslovakia tried for a desperate moment in 1968, what Hungary has partially implemented and what China is experimenting with in 6,600 state enterprises—namely, a decentralized form of Communism that accepts the market as a corrective to bad economic planning, and relies to a far greater extent on individual initiative than on state fiat.

A shift of this sort is not conceivable to most Westerners because their image of Communism is of an unchanging, embittered, harshly totalitarian Stalinism. Even Yugoslavia is considered a fleeting aberration. But we have to remind ourselves that there are as many types of Communism as there are of capitalism. No one, for instance, would dare equate American capitalism with Portugese capitalism, or British capitalism with Turkish capitalism. Likewise, there are only superficial similarities between Soviet and Yugoslav Communism, or between the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union under Georgi Malenkov—or even Leonid Brezhnev. In each instance the most important feature determining the type of Communism is the way capital is formed for economic development—exactly the problem that occupies Poland today.

In the postwar period, the prototype for change in the Communist world has been Yugoslavia. Its evolution is therefore instructive in gauging where Poland may be headed during its present crisis. Marshal Josip Tito's break with Stalin, it may be recalled, was over two issues: the Soviet leader's opposition to efforts by his Yugoslav comrade to form a federation with Bulgaria, and the general insistence that the Baltic state remain a nonindustrialized satellite of Moscow, providing it with raw materials and foodstuffs. But as the schism widened, Tito found that the dispute entailed more than self-defense—his nation could not survive without wide-ranging structural changes internally. As late as the 1948 convention of his party, the Yugoslav leader ended his speech with the ringing words "Long live the Soviet Union! Long live Stalin!" But if the six-tiered republic was to stay alive it had to turn to the West and the Third World to market its exports (one-sixth of everything it produced), since the market to the East had been closed.

The ramifications of this conclusion were breathtaking. To enter the Western market was not just a matter of soliciting customers. It demanded a quantum jump in efficiency to meet the higher Western standards of price and quality; and that in turn was impossible without tapping the initiative of the producers—managers, workers, peasants. In the cloistered confines of the parallel market in which the Soviet bloc functioned, price, quality and unit cost could be partly disregarded by applying the heavy-handed methods of state manipulation—what Tito called "administrative socialism" or "bureaucratic centralism." Economic progress in the Soviet world did not have to depend on labor-saving machinery to the degree that it did in the West, because there was a large reservoir of unemployed and underemployed labor that could be recruited from the villages.

But in the Yugoslav circumstances "administrative socialism" would have meant economic collapse. Beginning with the Workers' Council Law of 1950, therefore, the Yugoslavs decentralized both their economic and political structures. They opened their economy to the checks and

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balances of the market—competition—and to popular involvement. Under the principles of "social ownership" and "self-management," each enterprise (a factory, a store, a hotel, or a group of them) was deemed to be under the collective control of those who worked in it—not the "nationalized" property of the Government. It was managed by the workers themselves.

In each enterprise, the Workers' Collective elected a Workers' Council, which in turn chose a small Management Committee to decide matters of policy—subject to approval by the council every few weeks or months and by the collective every year. The Management Committee hired and fired the plant director, determined what products to manufacture, how much and from what bank to borrow money, the sales and advertising budget, the price of its products, what to export and import, whether to merge or work out pooling arrangements with other enterprises.

Within the enterprise there was a further decentralization of decision making. Each department constituted a separate unit with the right to do its own hiring and firing and to organize some of its own work. Its earnings—beyond a certain legal minimum—depended not on present wage scales but on how well the department met quotas approved by the Management Committee and Workers' Council. The Yugoslav form of Communism didn't work perfectly by any means (and in some years, not even well) but it brought in its wake a type of socialism that allowed for free travel, much more free speech and press than in any other part of Eastern Europe and a considerable amount of popular participation, both economic and political. The Titoists learned that if you wanted to improve efficiency you had to give workers freer reign to exercise their initiative—and you couldn't do that unless you mitigated repression.

For a brief historical second—after Malenkov became Prime Minister following Stalin's death in 1953—it seemed that the Soviet Union itself might tilt in the Titoist direction. Under Malenkov's "New Course" there was to be a sharp rise in the production of consumer goods; the hated compulsory buy-up of agricultural commodities from farm collectives was to be terminated; forced-labor camps were closed, and workers were to be wooed with lower prices and higher wages. The New Course in Russia had parallels elsewhere—in East Germany on the heels of the June 1953 Berlin revolt, in Hungary after Imre Nagy was installed as Premier and in Poland for a time. But it was aborted by Nikita Khrushchev after he ousted Malenkov.

Oddly enough, the country that has gone farther toward decentralized Communism than any other in the Soviet bloc is Hungary—despite the harsh Soviet intervention of 1956, and despite Janos Kadar's early repressions. In January 1968, the landlocked state southwest of the U.S.S.R. formulated a New Economic Mechanism, which was in the Titoist mode, making profitability the motif of economic activity, and decentralization the technique for implementing it. Under the New Economic Mechanism, Hungary shifted primarily to "indicator" planning. Prices for many items were allowed to fluctuate depending on market conditions, wages were set in each factory through collective bargaining agreements and other changes were made toward decentralization. "Satisfying the consumer," wrote Henry Kamm in *The New York Times* of May 23, 1973, "appears to have been elevated to the principal goal of the movement. As a result, more Hungarians now appear content with their lot."

The most drastic step toward self-management occurred in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Here two currents joined in a "renaissance" that adopted as its theme "socialism with a human face." The first current was that of dissident intellectuals. Writers such as Antonin Liehm and Ludvik Vaculik made renewed demands in the late 1950s for basic freedoms and abolition of censorship. Equally, perhaps more important were the impersonal demands of the economy, as expressed by the economist Ota Sik. Czechoslovakia, the tenth most industrialized nation on earth before World War II, had only a negligible amount of redundant labor to draw from the villages. Its production lagged, its living standards failed to rise.

As Sik saw it, Czechoslovakia needed machinery and computers of a more advanced type than could be obtained in the Soviet bloc if it was to increase productivity and the standard of living. To pay for such equipment it had to sell more goods in the West. But since its product was of the same inferior quality as prevailed in the other Communist nations (on at least one occasion it had to sell finished steel rails at scrap-metal prices because they were so far beneath foreign standards), it could not compete effectively on the world market. To resolve its difficulties, therefore, it had to reorient its economy so as to stimulate the initiative of workers and managers. The economic problem, in other words, boiled down to a political dilemma: either grant a sizable degree of freedom to the populace or stagnate.

This was the basis for socialism with a human face. Under Sik's projected economic model the Government would confine itself to indicator planning—gathering statistics, setting targets—and using indirect means such as taxes, import licenses and monetary controls to guide production into certain channels. In each enterprise a council would be established, composed of the plant administration, workers' delegates and representatives of the Government, which would negotiate wages, set prices and determine production schedules. Wages, to a degree, would be correlated with profits. This was not as far-reaching as the Yugoslav experiment but it was clearly understood to be the *first* step toward social ownership combined with self-management. And accompanying this economic pattern was a lifting of restraints on free speech, free press and other freedoms, including free trade unions. Though it lasted for only eight months, Czechoslovakia's renaissance was perhaps the closest approximation of democratic socialism the Communist orbit has ever witnessed.

Poland today has the kind of choice that the Czechs had in 1968: either to grant still more freedom to its people or to stagnate. It cannot pay for the concessions it made in August without increasing productivity, and it cannot in-

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crease productivity without involving the Polish working masses in economic decision making. It may be, as some claim, that the Soviet leadership will not permit Gierek's successor, Stanislaw Kania, to stray too far in the self-management direction. On the other hand, it is possible that Moscow itself faces the same dilemma that Sik contended with in 1968; the Soviet Union too has exhausted its supply of redundant labor and must depend more and more on efficiency and high-level technology to advance its economy. While it still has large amounts of raw materials (including gold) to exchange for Western technology, that supply is not inexhaustible. The Russians undoubtedly are aware of this problem and they also have taken small steps to unleash managerial initiative and worker participation at certain levels. A carefully phased move by Kania and his Polish comrades toward self-management, therefore, might be tolerated by Moscow—and, in some Soviet circles, even welcomed.

In any case, Poland's choices are limited. It can renege again on promises made to its workers, and await the next revolt two, three, or four years from now—each revolt growing ever larger and more demanding—or it can bow to the winds of necessity and take the path toward self-management, decentralization and the kind of democracy that was once considered implicit in the socialist dream.

One of the unique features of the Polish situation has been the collaboration between the dissident intelligentsia and the leaders of the strike—a collaboration reminiscent of Czechoslovakia in 1968. As the new unions emerge, with their own leaders and growing treasuries, they will cement their relationships with writers, economists and scientists to the point where a permanent countervailing power will exist. This kind of alliance, if it achieves full fruition, would presage a more durable socialism with a human face than the ill-fated one in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Clearly the implications and ramifications of the August strikes go far beyond bread-and-butter claims or isolated political concessions. □

THE IRONIC CURTAIN

Czechoslovakia—A Short Spring

JIRI WYATT

On a recent visit to Prague I asked a friend who is a truck driver how things had changed since 1968. "Oh," he said, "no doubt about it, they've got worse." I nodded gravely. But he went on to explain: "Everything's become much more expensive." I'd been waiting for a predictable, quotable political wisecrack; this was not what I'd expected.

Czechoslovakia is a country where you expect few surprises and are often surprised. The writer in search of "news" turns up only paradoxes and puzzles. Most

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John Alcorn, Marshall Arisman, Tony Auth, Seymour Chwast, Robert Grossman, Frances Jetter, Ed Koren, David Levine, Lou Myers, Ed Sorel **illustrate it.**

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sentences end with "but." And as your blank notebook fills up, you find yourself each moment less certain about what, exactly, the "news" from this passionately ironic, defenseless land might be.

This year the European press has been unusually attentive to the harassment of the philosopher Julius Tomin and his "private" seminars. When Dr. Anthony Kenny, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, was expelled from Czechoslovakia in the middle of the night for attending one of these, the story hit all the front pages. Curious to know what the Czechs thought of Tomin, I asked my friend Milo, a musician. Milo had never heard of him. A "dissident" poet—call him Josef V.—who had, said, "Tomin, you know, is very brave, principled, but this is his affair. You must write that the important thing is not to forget [the imprisoned playwright Vaclav] Havel and the others. They were doing important work, political work."

This is not to deny the value of Tomin's work, or the extreme pressure brought to bear against him. He has now been forced from the country and has taken up a post at Oxford. But the opinion of "dissidents" I know is that Tomin's battle to keep his brand of philosophical Marxism alive doesn't compare with the trial of the ten leaders of VONS, a group organized to monitor compliance with Charter 77, a human-rights manifesto. The trial ended with a five-year sentence for Havel and was the first full-scale show trial in Communist Europe since the waning of the cold war. And as Josef V. said, "Five years in our jails—this is serious."

If this is the main "news"—that the imprisoned and their cause should be kept alive in the public mind—it would nevertheless be wrong to conclude that repression in Czechoslovakia has reached an unprecedented level. Nothing so straightforward is happening. The dissemination of underground books, for example, goes on at a very healthy pace, and its main organizer, the country's best-known and most-loved writer, Ludvik Vaculik, is alive and well and for the moment not under any immediate threat. Books of all kinds are allowed to be published in this clandestine way, including political books and Marxist critiques. Publication of an underground work still means that you lose your job, but as a woman active in this movement said to me, "Of course, these writers have not had any jobs since '68 anyway." Nonetheless, writers who are forbidden to publish in Czechoslovakia can and do publish abroad, especially in Germany and Scandinavia. The exiled writer Josef Skvorecky's publishing house in Toronto, 68 Publications, prints all the major contemporary Czechoslovak literature (Box 695, Postal Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1G2 Canada). Gagged at home, harassed, deprived of telephones, driver's licenses and jobs, dissident writers are "permitted" to collect their foreign royalties—and so to live. And Alexander Dubcek himself is back from his exile in the sticks and lives quietly in downtown Bratislava, not far from the headquarters of the Slovak Central Committee.

The regime's strategy to neutralize the Prague Spring is at once drearily old hat and quite successful. One familiar propaganda ploy is the endless eulogizing of the Soviet army as the saviors of the Czechoslovak people in what is proclaimed their moment of greatest danger: World War II. Before, during and after every anniversary of a major event of the war—the liberation of Prague, the rising of the Slovaks at Banska Bystrica, and the like—old (and not-so-old) war movies crowd the television listings. Hour after hour, there it all is again: the wicked Germans (the fact that many Slovaks and Czechs supported fascism has been wholly wiped away) and the heroic Red army. For all the overkill, this fevered propaganda accords with enough people's memories, especially in Slovakia, to have some effect.

Although, of course, there are the jokes. When Marshal Josip Tito was ill and dying, I was told this one: Tito dies. The Yugoslavs canvass the embassies to find out how many people they can expect at his funeral. How many people will the British send? "Two," is the reply. The Germans? "Four." How many Russians are going to come? Answer: "We are all coming!"

But the (sometimes ribald) anti-Russian sentiment always lurking below the surface is no longer linked with the ideas of 1968. Rather, anti-Russian feeling today seems more a return to the status quo ante, to a kind of muttering dissatisfaction that the regime can tolerate. Similarly, when I asked my friend the truck driver specifically about Dubcek, he said, "Oh well, that was a nice dream, but so unrealistic." As far as I could discover, this is the line many ordinary people now accept—and it seems the product of a concerted campaign by the Gustáv Husák regime. The aim is to appeal to the virtually requisite cynicism.

What I heard from "ordinary" people, in any case, had to do not with politics but the cost of living. Inflation has hit Czechoslovakia as badly as it has Britain or Italy. At the June economic summit of Communist countries in Prague, the chaotic state of the Eastern European—and the Soviet—economies was openly admitted. (Is this, then, the real "news"?) Certainly things are wildly expensive. A gallon of gas costs ten times what it does in the United States, yet the average income is perhaps one-fifth as much. Although the "official" average wage is 2,550 crowns monthly (very roughly $225), a family with no more than one child needs at least 5,000 crowns a month "to live." A new car costs 60,000 crowns, a new apartment 30,000 to 40,000 down and about 700 crowns a month. A professional with ten years' experience earns 2,500 crowns monthly, a schoolteacher in a country town 1,800.

How people manage is explained by the following joke: Jimmy Carter, Leonid Brezhnev and Husák are comparing earnings in their countries. Carter says that in the United States a worker makes $1,000 a month, spends $800 and puts $200 in the bank. Brezhnev says a Russian makes 2,000 rubles, spends 1,600 and puts 400 in the bank. Husák says: "That's nothing. In Czechoslovakia a worker makes 3,000 crowns a month, spends 4,000 and puts 1,000 in the bank—but where he gets the money from, God knows."

Jiri Wyatt, who has just finished a book on the Holocaust and Communism in Czechoslovakia, has published work in The New Yorker *and* The Massachusetts Review.

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There's what you earn and what you steal—but this is no more "news" than that the Czechs and Slovaks are expert at laughing at themselves. But sometimes, when a joke leaves you blank while everyone else is in stiches, you realize something's going on you don't quite understand. The complex tyranny the Czechs and Slovaks suffer can easily draw the foreigner into facile generalizations.

I will risk this one: There isn't going to be a Czechoslovak revolution in the foreseeable future. Alexander Blok described Russia between 1905 and 1917 as having "gone savage." A poet of great honesty, Blok didn't disguise the fact that it was this going savage that made possible the uprising of 1917. But Czechoslovakia today could not be described as having gone savage. The Czechs and Slovaks I know are people of extraordinary grace and subtlety. In the West we are eager to make martyrs of them. It seems particularly satisfying to us, judging by the stories about them we let into print, that they should display so much morality and so little power. This lets us watch their ordeal with long faces, but also with a strange kind of pleasure.

Perhaps the real "news" from Czechoslovakia is that in all the years since 1968 we have not managed to move beyond platitudes and simplification. None of the many stories I read about Julius Tomin, for example, mentioned that he is a Marxist. While the VONS trial generated genuine concern, is there any more understanding of Czechoslovakia today than there was before 1968? Meanwhile, Vaclav Havel lives tenuously in the ominous dark of a Czechoslovak jail. □

GENETIC SCREENING AT DU PONT

Blacks Only Need Apply

RICHARD SEVERO

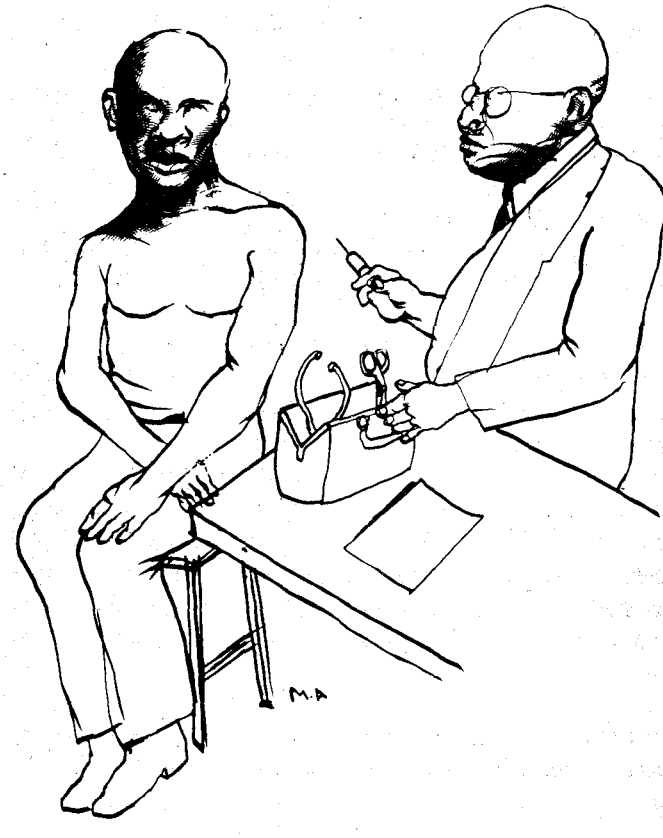
What you are about to read is really two stories. One is the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company's curious expedition into genetic screening in the workplace, a relatively new science that essentially takes the position that no workplace can be totally cleaned up and made safe enough for all workers. The result, not unpredictable, is that industry has an obligation to remove from the workplace those people whose genes may make them more susceptible to chemical hazards. The other story concerns itself with *The Washington Post*'s unlikely role as apologist for that part of Du Pont's genetic screening effort focused on black workers.

The genesis of the genetic-screening controversy goes back to May 16, 1972, when President Richard Nixon signed $115 million worth of legislation that promised intensified efforts to find a "cure" for sickle-cell anemia and to persuade a wary black community that the Government really was interested in its problems.

The Administration's effort was apparently successful in heightening Dr. Alston Meade's awareness of sickle-cell anemia. Meade, a senior research biologist at Du Pont, was president of the Black Du Pont Employees Association, and he sent a letter to Du Pont's public relations and employee relations departments requesting that the company consider giving tests for sickle-cell anemia routinely to all black employees.

Meade says that the letter was written without a clear understanding of the difference between sickle-cell anemia and sickle-cell trait. The actual anemia occurs mainly in black people (although white Mediterraneans get it, too), but only if the individual receives a sickle-cell gene from both of his parents and is thus homozygous for the disease. People with the sickle trait are heterozygous, i.e., they inherited only one gene with the anemia trait and may exhibit absolutely no anemic symptoms at all. The 0.2 percent of American blacks who have the anemia don't need a company to tell them they have it. They know about their problem early in life, long before they reach employment age. They know about the jaundice and recurrent attacks of fever and pains in the arms, legs and abdomen. They may also have experienced paralysis, convulsions and renal damage. In contrast, the carriers of the sickle trait are no more aware that they carry such a gene than is a brown-eyed person aware that he may carry a gene for blue eyes.

Du Pont says that as a result of Meade's letter a testing program was begun, not for the actual anemia, which was what Meade requested in his letter, but for sickle



DRAWINGS BY MARSHALL ARISMAN

Richard Severo is an award-winning reporter for The New York Times.

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trait, which is carried by 8 to 10 percent of American blacks. The test was offered to blacks only prior to employment. At first it was offered locally, then in all Du Pont plants in the United States. The company says it was and is voluntary, although company medical officials say that no black has ever declined to take it.

This is not to suggest that blacks should not know if they carry a single gene for sickle-cell anemia. But the only reason for knowing is personal. For example, if both parties to a marriage knew that they had the sickle trait, they might elect to adopt children, rather than run the risk of having a child who might be burdened with the actual anemia. It is much the same concern Jews have about Tay-Sachs disease, a genetically transmitted neurological disorder that kills most of its victims by the age of three years.

And so Du Pont began its sickle-trait test. It all went quickly enough, but after five years of testing, it was clear that the company had transformed a personal physical problem affecting blacks into a screening to determine the suitability of blacks with sickle trait to work for Du Pont. This purpose was clearly stated in a 1978 article by Du Pont's Dr. Charles Reinhardt entitled "Chemical Hypersusceptibility" as "a condition of inordinate or abnormally increased susceptibility to chemicals, infective agents, or other agents which in the normal individual are entirely innocuous."

In a section dealing with sickle-cell anemia, Reinhardt, who is the director of the company's Haskell Laboratory for Toxicology and Industrial Medicine, wrote:

> Several screening tests for sickle-cell trait have now been developed and a number of mass screening programs have been conducted. In Du Pont, as a service, we routinely offer all black employees a test for sickle-cell trait. If the test is positive, we will ask the applicant to check with his or her personal physician or a community health service. At our Chambers Works plant, heterozygotes with a hemoglobin of less than 14 grams per 100 milliliters [of blood] are restricted from work involving the handling of nitro and amino compounds; if their hemoglobin is greater than 14 grams per 100 milliliters, no restrictions are made. We generally employ individuals with sickle-cell trait who appear otherwise to fill job requirements.

So there it was in *The Journal of Occupational Medicine*. A request that had been made out of a feeling that blacks should know if they carried sickle-cell genes had become the focus of a scientific paper on "hypersusceptibility" in the chemical workplace. Something that might have been a factor in family planning had become an employment issue. Blacks at Du Pont had thus become the only ethnic or racial group to be singled out because of alleged special risk on the job, even though many whites with roots in the Mediterranean, as well as East Indians and Orientals, have genetically caused anemia problems too.

In the process of researching a series of articles on genetic screening in the workplace for *The New York Times*, I interviewed Reinhardt and confirmed that he still meant what he said in that article. I also interviewed Dr. Bruce Karrh, Du Pont's medical director, who offered a different version from Reinhardt's. He insisted that no job-placement decisions were based on the tests and that they were "purely for the education and edification of the individual involved."

My findings on the Du Pont sickle-trait tests were published in *The New York Times* on February 4. Du Pont's response was immediate. The next day Irving Shapiro, the Du Pont chairman, sent a letter to *The Times* in which he wrote that the sickle-trait test was never used in job placement and that my report was "offensive" to a management that "has worked diligently to foster an end to racism in this country." He made no mention of the Reinhardt article, but no matter: *The Times* printed his letter on February 7.

A few days later, Meade, along with John Fisher, the current president of the Black Du Pont Employees Association, also wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* and to newspapers in Wilmington and Philadelphia that had run portions of the *Times* series. They said they were not aware of any "abuse" of Du Pont's sickle-cell testing program and that they welcomed "any information to the contrary." Like the Shapiro letter, the Fisher-Meade letter made no mention of Reinhardt's article. In subsequent conversations, Meade admitted that he had only read the edited version of my story in *The Philadelphia Bulletin,* and said there was no mention of Reinhardt's article. As it turned out, *The Bulletin*'s version did mention the Reinhardt article.

Then, on March 10, *The Washington Post* ran an editorial that was quite supportive of my series. Du Pont's public-relations department reacted quickly and sent to the newspaper a letter written by company president Edward Jefferson that said much the same thing Shapiro's letter had said. In the same envelope Du Pont enclosed a copy of the original 1972 letter by Meade along with his more recent missive written with Fisher. On March 26, *The Post* ran a second editorial apologizing to Du Pont for its first editorial. "As it turns out, our sources were wrong," the newspaper explained.

In what way were *The Post*'s sources "wrong"? The retraction ran, I learned, because Jessica Mathews, the writer of the the first editorial, had become convinced that it was necessary after reading the Fisher-Meade letter and the supporting material from 1972. Mathews told me she hadn't spoken to Meade, nor to Fisher, nor to any members of the Black Du Pont Employees Association, nor to any scientist or policy maker at Du Pont. "I am not a reporter," she said, adding that she had telephoned three of her own sources, people who had nothing to do with Du Pont or the workers there. Mathews felt that even if Reinhardt wrote what I reported he wrote (and she was going to check that out right away in a medical library), he probably didn't know anything about company testing policy because, after all, he ran a research facility and research scientists tend not to know very much about medical practices in individual plants. She had no response when I informed her that Reinhardt was formerly employed at Du Pont's Chambers Works plant in Deepwater, New Jersey, where he was instrumental in starting a genetic-screening program.

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And so her editorial stands, and Du Pont sends it out, along with the Fisher-Meade letter, when people inquire as to what Du Pont's genetic screening program is all about. When Lewis Milford of the National Veterans Law Center at American University made such an inquiry, he was told by Matthew Cooney Jr., a Du Pont public-relations man, that "a major paper like *The Post* doesn't apologize lightly." As for Reinhardt's description of Du Pont's screening program in *The Journal of Occupational Medicine,* Cooney says, "This language clearly says that it is a standard hemoglobin test, not a sickle test, that is used to restrict a person with a low hemoglobin count from certain areas as a health safeguard." But Dr. Samuel Epstein, professor of occupational and environmental health at the University of Illinois School of Public Health, and Dr. Nicholas Ashford, associate professor of technology and policy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to whom I showed the article, were unable to find any reference to a "standard hemoglobin test." Ashford said it showed "insensitivity to America's racial problems to produce an article that applied the level of hemoglobin only to blacks with sickle trait and to no one else."

And so the questions remain: Why are blacks alone singled out in the Reinhardt article? If the tests are only for the personal benefit of blacks, why are they mentioned in an article that purports to deal with people who are said to be abnormally susceptible to chemicals? If no blacks have ever been transferred to other jobs because of their sickle trait, how can one explain the statement of William Golt, president of the Chemical Workers Association, a company union, who told me he knew of at least one black who was transferred because of the test? Just where are the hard data that would justify stigmatizing chemical workers who carry the sickle trait as special risks? Furthermore, Karrh's contention that no job-placement decisions were made on the basis of the test, that it was "purely for the education and edification of the individual involved," seems suspect too. I have recently learned that the company does not even have a uniform national policy for explaining the sickle-trait test to its black employees. Cooney said the only time the company explained the test to black workers was in 1972, when it was started.

The genetic-screening issue has aroused the interest of legislators like New York State Assemblyman Frank Barbaro of Brooklyn, who is proposing legislation to prohibit the use of genetic testing in his state. Nationally, it certainly isn't against the law. In fact, there is a redundant, ambiguous regulation on the books of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration that some have taken as a Federal mandate to screen. The rule is contained in Part 1910, Title 29 of the Code of Federal Regulations promulgated for general industry by the agency. A section entitled "Medical Surveillance" says that workers are to take a "preassignment physical examination" which is to include "the personal history of the employee, family and occupational background, including genetic and environmental factors." I learned of this obscure rule only because a laboratory employee happened to tell me his company was considering starting a genetic-screening program, even though they didn't want to, in order to be in compliance with the law.

Dr. Eula Bingham, OSHA's assistant secretary, was unaware of the rule until I informed her of it but has made it clear she doesn't want it used as an exclusionary tool against any group of people by industry. Bingham also says she doesn't think the language of the rule creates the mandate. But how can "genetic factors" be obtained without a test? If the Government simply wanted to obtain genetic information gleaned from family history, they could have done so without making "genetic factors" a separate entity in the rules. At any rate, the rule remains on the books.

As for Du Pont, the current situation remains unclear, in view of the company's propaganda smokescreen. If the screening program continues as before, then black employees have grounds for questioning the Du Pont slogan, "There's a lot of good chemistry between us." □

THE U.S. AND ANGOLA

The Recognition Factor

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

The overused title of "front-line state" could have been coined for Angola. After more than a decade of anticolonial war, followed by a short, sharp civil war and invasion, its Government is still besieged. To the south is Namibia, where South African occupation forces double as the allies of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the anti-Marxist and antiwhite guerrilla group led by Jonas Savimbi. To the east is Zaire, which still smarts at the reverse it suffered in 1975, and still blames Angola for the social turbulence in its Shaba Province (formerly Katanga). To the west is Ronald Reagan, who would be surprised at how closely the Angolan Government is following his campaign.

The last time that covert action was tried in Angola was in 1975, when Henry Kissinger, seeking a bully little intervention as a tonic for America's post-Vietnam malaise, dispatched Central Intelligence Agency advisers and $14 million worth of arms to UNITA and Holden Roberto's National Front for the Liberation of Angola (F.N.L.A.). As John Stockwell, chief of the C.I.A.'s Angolan Task Forces, shows in his book *In Search of Enemies,* Cuban troops were drawn into the conflict and crushed Roberto's and Savimbi's armies. The C.I.A.'s role was duly exposed, the United States was tainted in Africa by its collusion with South Africa, and the South Africans were angered because they felt the United States had deserted them after they had in-

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tervened covertly on the side of the rebels. A zero-sum game all around. The F.N.L.A. was wiped out, and Savimbi's fortunes have waned, as forces of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.) get more of a grip on the southern provinces whence he draws support. But Reagan's expressed desire to aid this champion again has created quite a ripple in Angola's capital, Luanda.

At the height of the South African invasion this past June, when armored columns had penetrated two southern provinces and advanced aircraft were blitzing the positions of the South West Africa People's Organization and Angolan economic targets, I had an interview with Lucio Lara, organizing secretary of the M.P.L.A. and the "number-two man" in the Government. He is white, like many other members of the central committee, and one of the founders of the resistance against the Portuguese. We discussed, among other things, the fact that Britain and America had abstained on the United Nations vote condemning the invasion. Lara was especially interested in the campaign in the United States to repeal the Clark amendment, which bans U.S. assistance to any group in Angola for military purposes.

Under the provisions of a new law governing covert action, if the relevant Congressional committees were informed privately, the President could authorize intervention in the interests of "national security." Lara felt that in the atmosphere following the Afghanistan invasion—which Angola rather guardedly supported—such tactics had a fair chance of being revived. Thus, the credit that Angola had gained by its cooperation in the settlement talks for Namibia and Zimbabwe would be thrown away. The Angolans rather miss Cyrus Vance, who said recently that it makes no sense not to recognize Angola, "a government with which we have cooperated in the search for peace in southern Africa despite fundamental differences on other issues."

The issue that blocks "normalization" at the moment is the presence of Cuban troops in the country. I asked Lara if he would ask for their help in combating the South African invasion. He replied that such assistance had not been requested, but that it would be if the invaders moved much farther north. Angolans are very sensitive to the charge that they are propped up by Cuba, and great efforts are being made to train an army that can replace them. But they are candid: While South Africa occupies Namibia and retains complete command of the air, the Cubans will have to stay. (The South Africans, incidentally, have not claimed any Cuban participation in the recent fighting.)

While American politicians waver about recognizing the M.P.L.A. Government, American businessmen are behaving in a surprisingly bullish way. Luanda's few decent hotels are stuffed with men on leave from Cabinda, where the Gulf Oil Corporation has always enjoyed the best of relations with the M.P.L.A. The U.S. Export-Import Bank is negotiating a $96 million oil project for the country. The Boeing Company is building an airport and Lockheed is reportedly training pilots. The businessmen I talked to were typically apolitical, but they did volunteer that the M.P.L.A. is shaping up better, and that bureaucracy and inefficiency are steadily diminishing.

The campaign against Angola, then, is basically a vindictive rather than a strategic one. The circles who promote it are motivated by a feeling that they wuz robbed, that there was a stab in the back, that they "lost" Angola. It is seen as a fairly cheap way of punishing the Russians for Afghanistan. But even a brief visit to Angola shows that the Cuban forces are not—as is the Red army in Kabul—a force of occupation. Nor, with their black and mixed-race composition, are the Cubans as literally incongruous as the Russians. There would be little popular leverage for a destabilization campaign to work with.

In the South, I did hear bombs go off at night in the provincial capital, and I did see the damage done to the Benguela railway. But I also saw thousands of the local Ovimbundu tribe, who are Savimbi's base of support, returning from the bush and the hills and giving themselves up. The M.P.L.A. is under no illusions about this. It knows that hunger and illness have brought these people in, and that the new arrivals do not trust "the white man's government in the North." But the work of reconciliation is underway, and this has driven Savimbi to rely more and more on direct South African help.

Since the Benguela railway is Angola's lifeline to Zambia, and since it is owned by foreign concessions, and since South Africa tenderly insures that no trains are blown up but only track destroyed, it will take a very hard heart in the White House to decide that Angola has not suffered enough. □

Business

(Continued From Front Cover)

think-tank multiversity of the 1960s.

Now, the universities are shifting their allegiance back to the private sector—and to the dominant power in that sector, the petrochemical industry—under the goad of grave financial problems and in an effort to escape from governmental red tape and scrutiny. The universities' new role will be to provide research and training in new industrial areas—particularly semiconductors, automation and biotechnology—and bestow ideological sanction and scientific legitimacy upon Big Business's campaign against government "interference" in the economy. In the vanguard of this shift are large research institutions like Harvard, Stanford, M.I.T.

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and the University of Michigan; leading the industry side are the major corporations in the petrochemical industry: Monsanto, Exxon, Dow, Du Pont and others. According to the annual survey of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, universities have, in the last three years, received the largest increase in financial support from industry since 1920. The latest transformation, like those before it, is bound to have far-reaching consequences for the direction of research and technology, patterns of funding and appointments, the form and content of higher education and the future of academic freedom.

The Industrial Connection

The industry campaign against government interference has gone through several phases during the past eight years, shifting from a simple negative campaign against government regulation to a more affirmative campaign for innovation or, most recently, reindustrialization, in which regulations are cast as obstacles to progress.

Industry's drive for closer collaboration with academia, for legitimization of its campaign and for indirect state support of research and development neatly complements the needs of the universities. Falling enrollments, fiscal austerity, the overall decline in government support of research, as well as mounting resistance to Federal demands for accountability and oversight of university affairs make the universities eager for what Exxon's Edward David Jr. has called the "industrial connection." The schools see it as a promising new source of funds and a respite from government scrutiny. Once the beneficiaries of the cozy collaboration with the government forged in the 1940s and 1950s, the universities now denounce government "interference." Thus, Charles Overberger of the University of Michigan complains about recent limitations on the peer-review system, which in the past gave the universities control over government funding, challenges to indirect costing practices, restrictions on faculty salaries, growing emphasis on fiscal accountability and the like. Wiesner of M.I.T. argues that while the costs of research have increased, government support has declined; he also rails against what he calls "arbitrary political pressure on research," which, he claims, jeopardizes long-term projects, an important source of support for faculty and students, especially graduate students, and notes the drying up of discretionary funds and the obsolescence of equipment and facilities.

In the controversy over Office of Management and Budget Circular A21, which demanded greater fiscal accountability from universities, for example, Wiesner protested vigorously that alleged attempts "to shackle [the universities] to a detailed and rigid set of nationally administered rules and regulations . . . swap progress for administrative convenience." He bemoaned the "erosion of mutual confidence, the spirit of collaborative partnership with the government" and decried what he called "despotic regulation," adding: "What we need and what the country now needs is regulation of regulation." The O.M.B. controversy reflects the ideological convergence of interest of industry and the universities, and against the Federal Government. The upshot has been the industrial connection, with academia groomed for the role of legitimator for industry.

Institutional Co-optation

A bald statement of what this role entails can be found in a recently published how-to book for people in management by Bruce Owen and Ronald Braeutigam, entitled *The Regulation Game*. Businessmen are told how to co-opt university-based experts:

> Regulatory policy is increasingly made with participation of experts, especially academics. A regulated firm or industry should be prepared whenever possible to co-opt these experts. This is most effectively done by identifying the leading experts in each relevant field and hiring them as consultants or advisors, or giving them research grants and the like. This activity requires a modicum of finesse; it must not be too blatant, for the experts themselves must not recognize that they have lost their objectivity and freedom of action.

In their campaign against regulation, corporations have moved beyond the crude tactics of co-optation of individuals to an institutionalized co-optation on a grand scale. In their search for legitimization, they are buying into basic laboratory science, toxicology, epidemiology and other areas of public health, policy-oriented disciplines such as economics, political science and, of course, management science. The leased scholars in these fields will provide the reams of data, the scientific publications, the cost-benefit analyses, the policy recommendations and, perhaps most important, the new generation of students lured by ample fellowships, new programs, large research grants—bright and ambitious recruits who will rarely think twice about the

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social and political implications of their fascinating scientific work.

Tied in with the scientific and policy-oriented disciplines are the humanistic interdisciplinary programs established during the last ten years, thanks to the largesse of the Sloan (General Motors), Mellon (Gulf Oil) and Exxon Foundations. Under the aegis of such programs, philosophers and historians and social scientists will ponder the weighty theological questions associated with what *Fortune* called the "new religion" of cost-benefit analysis and risk assessment. What do we mean by risk? How might societies and individuals best cope with risk? This new "discipline" will generate courses, journals, lectures, symposiums and fellowships devoted to thinking about how much risk—of respiratory disease, of cancer, of reproductive impairment, of pollution, or whatever—can be quantitatively justified in the name of deregulation.

Exactly how this intellectual and scientific enterprise would be orchestrated is illustrated by the recent experiences of three elite universities, Harvard, M.I.T. and Stanford. Beginning roughly in the spring of 1978, during the height of the deregulation advertising campaign, Stanford and M.I.T. each received requests from industry to begin discussions on the problems of risk and regulation. In November of that year, the provosts of the two institutions sent memorandums to selected faculty members soliciting comment. At M.I.T. it was suggested that a faculty group be formed to explore "the problem of assessing and coping with risks resulting from scientific and technological innovation." This faculty workshop would ultimately hatch a "serious, long-term investigation, for which outside funding would be sought." At Stanford, the provost called for a conference on risk assessment and regulation and indicated that the initiative had come from B. F. Goodrich and an industry public-relations firm.

At M.I.T., the initiative culminated in a new M.I.T.-Harvard Joint Program on the Impact of Chemicals on Human Health and the Environment. The central thrust of the program was indicated in the report of a Harvard committee formed to consider the university's participation. "While strenuous efforts are being made and will continue to be made to prevent the further introduction of deleterious substances into the environment and, if possible, to eliminate those already present, one cannot believe that such efforts will ever be completely successful. Accordingly, there is now and will continue to be a need to deal in an ablative sense with the effects of exposure to one or another of these man-made environmental contaminants." In October 1979, the program was formally unveiled, bringing together health sciences, environmental sciences and engineering, policy analysis—especially regulatory policy—and the resources of the schools of law, government, management, medicine, public health and arts and sciences.

The program's dominant themes faithfully reflected the industry campaign against regulation. "There is growing agreement among scholars," observed Chris DeMuth, a participant from Harvard, "that the process of adversarial regulation suffers from inherent shortcomings." These include, he said, "disregard of fundamental economic aspects of regulation and a well-nigh universal suppression of innovation and competition, and protracted and unnecessary disputes between business and government over information disclosures, plant inspections, etc." Accordingly, he and his colleagues suggest, alternatives to regulation such as economic incentives for nonpolluters should be explored. Funding sources for the Joint Program already include the Chemical Manufacturers Association, Dow, Monsanto, Exxon and Du Pont, and M[illegible] Wiesn[illegible] in his announcement that exploration is underway for further funding "at a level that will make such an ambitious program possible."

Objectifying Risk

At Stanford, the symposium idea centered on a similar notion of an "objective, unbiased examination of risk." As a university statement put it: "The current drive to reduce risk through government regulation is having and can have a severe negative impact on business, the economy and society, far out of proportion to the benefits society can expect to gain. . . . Overregulation, based upon emotion rather than sound science and logic, can soon become socially unacceptable. . . . There is now a strong need for an objective examination of these issues." Here too the challenge is to depoliticize debates over risk and regulation by conjuring up an "objective" basis for decision making—and in the process to defuse the political energies that gave rise to protective legislation in the first place. After toying with the symposium idea for a while, the Stanford administration and faculty decided that rather than merely talking about these problems, they would prefer to pursue some long-term projects with industry. Recently, preliminary negotiations with Goodrich and other firms took place which planted the seeds of a collaborative philosophy.

The industrial connection has now won the official blessing of the National Academy of Sciences. In a recent address, the academy's president, Philip Handler, who is currently under fire for alleged pro-industry bias and exercising undue influence on academy studies and reports, alluded to "substantial external pressures [that] seek to enlarge our role in educating the public to understand relative risks," among them "a consortium of chemically oriented companies [that] would like to encourage legislation that would call upon the academy to study and render judgments on risks of all types associated with chemicals utilized in industry." Exhorting his fellow scientists to condemn the "charlatans" and "nay-sayers" in their midst—i.e., those who sound the alarm on environmental and health hazards —Handler mentioned "another group of companies [that] has requested us to sponsor a meeting on the role of science in guiding public policy in regulating carcinogens." In accordance with these and similar requests, the academy has created a Committee on Risk and Decision Making, which is chaired by Howard Raiffa of the Harvard Business School and the Kennedy School of Government and includes

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among its membership several participants in the Harvard-M.I.T. Joint Program.

Daedalus Takes a Flier

A final illustration of how the university is providing legitimization for the campaign against regulation, and of how industry is guiding the academic debates about risk, regulation and innovation is provided by the history of a recent issue of *Daedalus*, the official journal of the prestigious American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In the spring of 1979, when the innovation phase of the industry campaign was just being launched, the editors of *Daedalus* got together with Exxon's Edward David, Presidential science adviser under Richard Nixon and former chairman of the board of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. An apostle of progress through free enterprise, David supports deregulation, the reduction of "uncertainty" (tax, patent, antitrust and regulatory policies), and economic incentives as a spur to innovation. A day-long conference was held at the Harvard faculty club for leading scholars in the fields of the history and sociology of technology and industry. Funding was provided by the Sloan Foundation. The conference was dominated by David and M.I.T. provost Walter Rosenblith, originators of the Harvard-M.I.T. program, and it was clear to at least some of the participants that they had an agenda, and it was not academic. The letter of invitation hinted at what it was about: "Is there a meaningful issue between those who argue that technology can and should be controlled by political decisions and those who believe it is best left to the disciplines of the marketplace or to its own imperatives? What is the role of government in directing technological development?"

On the face of it, these are, of course, entirely legitimate questions for the academic community to explore. But in this instance a close reading of the transcript of the proceedings reveals that the nonacademic in the meeting, David, guided the discussion throughout. The deliberations, like those at most such academic gatherings, tended to be aimless, confused and boring, but whenever the discussion wandered, David would get the discussants back on the track: "There has to be some level of freedom in the development of technology, or else it will be so constrained that you will not get these great excursions that really provide the new versions." *Daedalus* editor Stephen Graubard did his part to keep matters in focus with statements such as: "I think some analysis of how the questions arise is in order—for example, the phenomenon of risk: how is risk being seen, why is risk defined in the way it is, by whom—issues of that sort. Ought we to be largely preoccupied with productivity, with technological innovation?"

Then Harvard's Harvey Brooks came up with some particularly felicitous phraseology: "We have suddenly pushed very strongly for constraints on the development of technology because we have recognized the adverse effects of no constraints. Yet, we have tended to forget . . . that the inhibition of technological development can have just as many adverse secondary consequences as the promotion of technological development." When "regulation" is substituted for "constraints" and "industry" is substituted for "technological development," the meaning of all this jargonistic chatter becomes clear. "You know," David interrupted Brooks, "from the industrial side, I think you have put your finger on perhaps the critical issue that we see in industry today." The transcript, together with solicited papers on related topics, was published in the Winter 1980 issue of *Daedalus* (Volume 109, No. 1 of the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences). Not long thereafter, reprints of selected articles were distributed free to academics in the technology and society area, courtesy of the Bell Laboratories.

Reindustrializing Academia

Beyond their role as legitimator of the industry campaign against regulation, the universities are being called upon, and are avidly seeking to play, a role in innovation and reindustrialization programs. In this area, they play the dual role of lending academic sanction to industry's slogans and serving as the institutional conduit for taxpayer subsidies of industry in the areas of research and training.* As was the case with the military and the space programs, these new ventures are being justified in terms of national priorities and in the name of patriotism. But also, there's money in this latest hustle for fellowships, institutes, centers, research grants and the like.

Although the relative decline in government support of university-based research has turned around slightly, with a 70 percent increase in Department of Defense funding in the last three years, the overall trend is toward greater infusions of money from private industry, stimulated by government incentives. Between 1955 and 1978, industrial support of academic research had dropped from 10 percent of overall support to less than 3 percent, according to R. E. Lyon of Exxon, while government support swelled. During this period, academic researchers chose to stay within the Academy rather than go into industry, and industrial firms turned away from subsidizing university research in favor of research with the emphasis on practical application. Now the pendulum is swinging back the other way. Universities are seeking long-term research support, free of government overhead and red tape, and industrial firms are seeking greater control over the direction of new scientific and technological developments and a greater proprietary interest in these developments.

The essential components of the industrial connection are government incentives for industry-university cooperation

* Harvard's much-touted conference on productivity is a case in point. Held this past spring, the conference was co-sponsored by Harvard, the New York Stock Exchange and the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on International Trade and brought together academics, Congressmen and leaders from the corporate and banking communities (but no representatives from regulatory agencies, consumer or environmental groups or labor). The most tangible product of the conference was a full-page advertisement in *The Wall Street Journal* (July 23) proclaiming that the United States "must strengthen its competitiveness" by, among other things, reducing the burdens of regulation and fostering innovation through government tax and other incentives. "The American people," the ad reads, "are aware of fundamental crisis in our economy and are ready to support extraordinary measures to reverse it."

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in research, such as tax breaks and more direct government seed money for joint ventures (for example, the National Science Foundation's "generic technology centers" and "innovation centers"); long-term contracts in basic and applied research (e.g., the Monsanto-Harvard and Exxon-M.I.T. contracts); cooperative research agreements, involving several firms and one or more universities, which allow for joint efforts without any clear violation of the antitrust laws (e.g., M.I.T.'s Polymer Processing Lab); reform of patent policy to foster uniformity from one contract to another and greater proprietary control over marketable research results; cross-fertilization between industry and university, including institutionalized consultant relationships, personnel exchanges, visiting faculty appointments, more elaborate industry oversight of research and teaching—through advisory committees and the like—and more extensive contacts between students and faculty and industrial recruiters. All of these facets of the industrial connection are being promoted in the name of innovation, reindustrialization and American industrial competitiveness.

Thus far, major areas of research include: industrial automation* (e.g., Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute's work on computer interactive graphics, with the International Business Machines Corporation, General Electric, Grumman, Lockheed, Prime Computer and Bethlehem Steel; Carnegie-Mellon's collaboration with Westinghouse on a major N.S.F.-funded robotics project, and Stanford's new Computer-Aided Design/Computer-Aided Manufacturing Center); integrated circuit design, especially for Very Large Scale Integrated systems at Cal Tech and M.I.T.; materials structures and processing (e.g., Cornell's submicron structures lab, University of Delaware's composite materials project and the Polymer Processing Lab at M.I.T.—which now involves some two hundred corporations, including such giants as the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and General Motors). The new M.I.T.-Exxon "combustion" project is touted as a model for long-term cooperative research. Calling for the expenditure of $8 million over ten years, the contract is one of the largest and longest in duration of any university-industry collaboration in research. M.I.T. proposes the specific research projects from which Exxon selects the ones to be pursued, and Exxon gets an irrevocable, worldwide, nonexclusive, royalty-free license to any marketable results; M.I.T. retains the patents. Exxon's David, who negotiated the contract, sees it as an important step toward long-term industry-university partnership and predicts that before too long industry will be underwriting 10 to 15 percent of university-based research.**

Biotechnological Feedback

University-industry collaboration in automation and computer technology has been going on for decades. What we are seeing now is a new focus on "biotechnology." This latest growth industry is likened to the electronics explosion of the 1950s and 1960s and reflects, first, major new advances in recombinant DNA technology which render heretofore arcane laboratory techniques adaptable to large-scale production and, second, the move of the petrochemical firms, by means of merger, acquisition and research, into the agricultural products and pharmaceutical fields which will make the most use of these new production processes. As *Chemical Week* put it in a headline recently, "DNA is on the way to chemicals." "The backdrop," explains Monsanto's Louis Fernandez, "is that many of our traditional businesses—plastics, fibers and organic and bulk chemicals—will be growing at a rate substantially less in the next ten years than in the previous decade or two. We see greater potential for growth in the life sciences." Accordingly, Monsanto recently named Howard Schneiderman, dean of the School of Biological Sciences at the University of California at Irvine, to be its new senior vice president for research and development. Similar moves into the biological fields, and especially into the new microbiological world of recombinant DNA, have been made in recent years by Standard Oil of Indiana, Union Carbide, Standard Oil of California, Shell and Occidental Petroleum.

By far the most ambitious bit of collaboration in the biomedical area thus far is Monsanto's $23 million cancer research project at the Harvard Medical School. More recently the Harvard School of Public Health established an industrial associates program—modeled on the industrial liaison program at M.I.T. (and, indeed, set up by a former administrator of the M.I.T. program)—to keep fee-paying firms abreast of the latest developments in biotechnology and to foster individual and institutional consulting relationships and, possibly, more specific industry-sponsored research projects. In addition, Yale Medical School has established close ties with Miles Laboratory and, very recently, Stanford Medical School has stepped up plans for a new Institute of Biological and Clinical Investigation, which is essentially a biotechnology job shop. The architects of the institute "propose to develop a long-term continuous collaboration with the chemical, pharmaceutical and engineering industries." "Collaboration with industry," they go on, "will be businesslike, with contracts made by both parties involving commitment of the entire Department of Medicine faculty." Calling their program "a model for industry-university collaboration," the promoters claim to "see few liabilities, if any, in terms of academic freedom" and anticipate "no negative influence on individual initiatives."

*The deregulation campaign and the drive to automate are not unrelated. As the editor of *Tooling and Production* observed, "Surely we know that the best way to satisfy OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] and EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] regulations as they apply to the hazards and environment threatening workers is to design the worker out of the workplace."

**It is worthy of note that during the push for the White House Domestic Policy Review effort, David worked closely with Frank Press of the Office of Science and Technology Policy on the Administration's innovation initiatives; both were careful to restrict government support, and thus involvement, to basic research, so as to leave industry a free hand at the applied end of the research and development spectrum. Since then, however, and somewhat to the dismay of the O.S.T.P., Exxon has begun to argue against government involvement at the basic research end as well, pushing instead for more direct industry funding and control, as in the M.I.T. combustion research project. This diversion of interest portends a conflict between the government science establishment and science-based industry and merits close attention.

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Besides the establishment of institutional collaboration, there has been a rapid growth in the formation of new genetic engineering firms, reminiscent of the state-university "spinoffs" of the electronics revolution. As with the latter, companies created by research paid for with public funds are turned into profit-making enterprises. Herbert Boyer of the University of California at San Francisco started the new wave of entrepreneurialism when he founded Genentech in San Francisco in 1976, and he has been emulated by fellow scientists at the University of Michigan, Harvard and M.I.T., who have rushed to form new companies with names like Genex and Biogen. The stampede was stimulated by several factors, not the least of which, of course, was the advance in biotechnology itself. Other factors include relaxed regulations on recombinant DNA work (even the controversial National Institutes of Health guidelines do not as yet apply to private industry, although the hazards multiply with competitive commercial development); a flow of venture capital into this new growth sector; Federal support for research in bioengineering; the support (and acquisition) by capital-rich petrochemical companies, and the recent favorable Supreme Court decision on the patenting of living organisms. The chief of Stanford's office of technology licensing, Neil Reimer, has said he hopes that institution's patents on recombinant DNA techniques "could be Stanford's Gatorade"—an allusion to the economic success of the drink spawned by researchers at the University of Florida.

Business on Campus

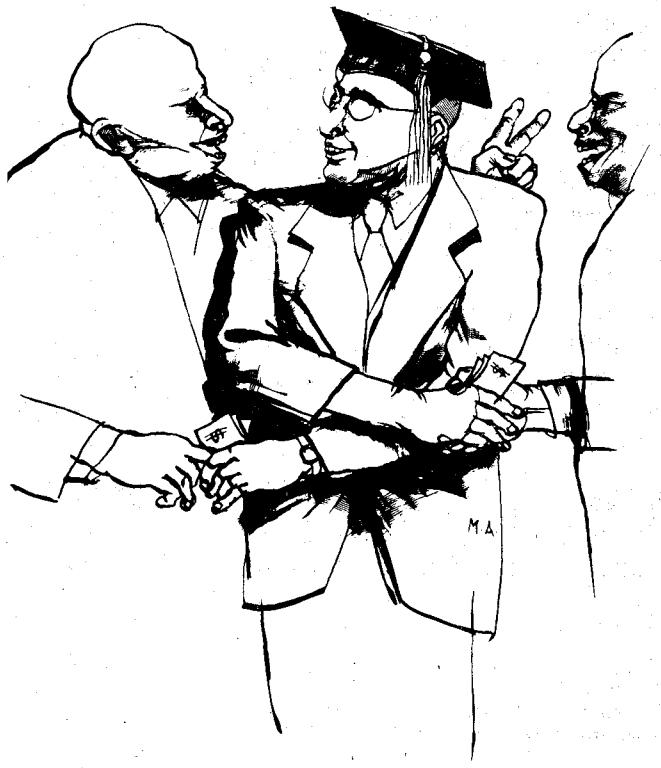
The third major transformation of American universities since the nineteenth century is well underway, bringing the worlds of academia and industry closer by the hour. At Duke, Dartmouth, Cornell, Pace, Colorado, Northern Michigan, throughout the academic landscape, "executives in residence" are becoming a commonplace. Robert Lear, the former chairman of the Schaefer Corporation, who is doing his residence at Columbia University, explains that his "major effort is to get more business executives more interested and concerned as to what is being taught and researched at the school. . . . I'm a teacher . . . yet even in school I am still in business, still a part of the corporate scene." "The executives," Dean H. Jerome Zoffer of the University of Pittsburgh observes, "have an opportunity to plumb the contemporary student mind, and to participate in the training of their successors. And the students have an opportunity to see that executives are people like everyone else." They become "role models for the student body."

As the courts restrict the use of job tests, and academic credentials decrease in significance in rapidly changing areas of employment, industrial firms are getting more closely involved in the occupational guidance and training of college students. At the same time, notes Archie Lapointe of the National Manpower Institute, "education is fighting for its mission and is today a lot more receptive to cooperation with business and industry." Students are not the only focus of industrial attention. Larger firms, especially in the petrochemical industry, are beefing up their "university affairs departments" to promote good public relations with university faculty. Du Pont's academic ambassador spends a good deal of his time flying around the country to talk with established and up-and-coming academics, inviting them to give lectures, attend seminars and otherwise become a part of the expanding corporate scene. Would-be critics are deliberately welcomed.

Finally, the increase in industry-sponsored scientific and technological research on campus in itself acts to orient students toward industry. As Herbert Fusfeld, director of the Center for Science and Technology Policy at New York University and past president of the Industrial Research Institute, editorialized in the July issue of *Science*, "Strong industry participation in mission-oriented research institutes at universities and long-term projects between university research teams and single companies can provide opportunities for combining university research careers with economic growth of the private sector." No doubt, it will also provide jobs for graduates, consulting work for faculty, funds for facilities, fellowships and more, but—and this goes for all the other aspects of the industrial connection as well—at what cost?

Academic Freedom for Sale

Universities in the United States have never been the autonomous, disinterested citadel of objective scholarship and social criticism that some lovers of learning imagine (although the persistence of this myth does tend to immunize these institutions from serious scrutiny and lend undue credibility to what is produced there in the name of science and scholarship). Nevertheless, the universities have provided a living for moderate dissenters, a vantage point from which to observe critically what is going on outside (if not inside) and a platform from which to address with



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relative safety controversial social questions. This role of the university as sanctuary should not be exaggerated but neither should it be dismissed. Perhaps the greatest danger posed by the renewed industrial connection is the very real threat to this relative independence at a time when we need to rethink fundamentally the central economic and political questions of modern industry and democracy. And there are other troubling thoughts as well.

It is not alarmist to wonder about the effects of industry's influence on the direction of scientific research. Once priorities have shifted from social need, the ostensible concern of government, to potential return on investment, which is business's main criterion, patents, proprietary interest and secrecy will no doubt replace open debate, peer review and publication as the norms of the academic scientific community. And it is of no little concern to responsible and respected researchers to contemplate the dilemmas of conflict of interest, censorship and proprietary pressures once they have been thrown into this ethically murky world of dual alliance to science and to profit. And to believers in a truly competitive capitalism, as well as to the critics of corporate power, the industrial connection must seem yet another step in the direction of further consolidation of that power by the large corporations to the detriment of smaller businesses.

It is difficult to fathom corporate intentions and, of course, the motives of individual corporate officers will vary from executive to executive. How much of corporate America's involvement in university affairs is intentional or merely an accidental convergence of mutual interests is something we may never know. But the corporate-university relationship, whether developed by "accident" or deliberately, is a trend whose dangers should be explored.

There are some who might argue that the effects of industry funding of universities are no different from those of government funding. This is not correct, for several reasons. The universities—the physical plants, equipment, staff, students, reputations, status—constitute a substantial social investment, one made over many years by generations of taxpayers, scholars, contractors, workers, scientists and the like. The universities, therefore—and this includes those nominally private institutions that have thrived on public assistance since World War II—are an inherited resource that rightfully belongs to us all. This fact is recognized explicitly in the case of government support. Funds are given in the name of the citizenry by government to foster social ends that are shaped and defined in the political process—a multiplicity and diversity of ends which oftentimes conflict. Access to this university resource can be demanded to insure that a plurality of interests are represented and, particularly, to include access for those without the means to purchase it—labor and consumers, for example. This is demonstrated in the recent suit brought by the California Rural Legal Association against the University of California charging that the university's research on harvesting machinery served only the interest of large growers at the expense of small growers and farm workers. [See Al Meyerhoff, "Agribusiness on Campus," *The Nation*, February 16.]

Further, government support insures (except in the case of military research) public scrutiny over what is being done at public expense. Access and accountability are thus essential aspects of government support, and they can be fought for if denied. Because of the multiplicity of interests represented, government support also fosters a (relative) freedom of inquiry; there is no externally imposed "line" for the researcher to toe, no single master.

Falling in Line

With industrial support, however, the primary consideration guiding university funding is not social need but rather the profit needs of the firm itself. Moreover, the firm, in purchasing access to the university's resources, is blocking access to others and has no obligation to share that access (there is, after all, a finite number of buildings, personnel, laboratories). And the industry is getting far more than it is paying for: it is getting the cumulative social investment—one that took decades and sometimes centuries to create—in return for little more than operating expenses. For example, Monsanto gave Harvard what appears to be quite a lot of money, $23 million. In return, they received access to the facilities of Harvard Medical School, a resource they could not have created with many times that amount. The firm has in essence transformed a part of a public-sector social resource into a private-sector preserve, with little public scrutiny or accountability over its use of the facility.

Finally, with industrial support there is relatively less freedom for the researcher because there is now a single line to follow, the line of the generous benefactor. And this brings us back to the gravest concern of all, the future of academic freedom, the seeming depoliticization of discussion (in reality, the de-democratization of decision making), the stifling of debate. Already the debates over regulation have been transformed as a result of the industrial campaign in general and the industrial connection with universities in particular. Controversies over how best to regulate have given way to a severely polarized ideological conflict over whether or not to regulate at all. Since the issues are rarely articulated, there is little debate; rather, there is a tacit "lining up." Those who have continued to defend regulation in the interests of environmental protection and occupational health are now cast as radicals by those "in the know." As such, they are quickly isolated, placed beyond the pale of respectability (and promotion and funding), their names penciled off proposed projects and invitation lists to conferences and planning sessions, for fear they would cause trouble, rock the boat.

Effective censorship is rarely imposed from without; an unreflective and exaggerated habit of self-censorship, out of an unspoken fear of retribution, works much better. This is what has begun to take hold in the universities. As if by instinct, people are lining up "correctly," without instruction. Meanwhile, administrators intent on maintaining the lucrative industrial connection discipline, isolate, or eliminate those few who refuse to go along. The corporations need not say a word. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Bizarre Inconsistencies

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON: A Radical for Women's Rights. *By Lois W. Banner. Little, Brown & Company. 189 pp. $9.95.*

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was a "character." Her movement friend, confidante and collaborator, Susan B. Anthony, regarded her with occasional dismay, a trepidation born of Anthony's recognition that there was something volatile, even anarchic, about Stanton's personality. Anthony heartily disapproved of Stanton's fertility: seven children seemed excessive to the rather stern and stoical Anthony, who never married. The story of their friendship, of this unlikely pair who forged, if not single-handedly then more single-mindedly than any others, the nineteenth-century women's movement, is endlessly fascinating and instructive. Because this is so, one wishes Lois Banner's book were as lively as her subject; alas, she manages to make Elizabeth Cady Stanton dull—no small achievement.

The problem lies, first, in the conception of the book. Banner clearly hoped to provide both a biography of Stanton and a social and intellectual history of her epoch. We have needed such a work in order to reclaim an unusual and important American life, a life lived both within and against an age. But Banner pitches her argument at such an elementary level that the adult reader, even one without knowledge of Stanton or the nineteenth century, rarely finds her intelligence engaged in a compelling manner.

The book lacks substance. The opening chapters on Stanton's early life seem to promise a narrative informed by psychobiography, a genre that requires unusual perspicuity on the part of the analyst if it is to be done well. Banner has picked up the notions but not the nuances of the genre. Just seven pages into the book, she has "psychologized" Stanton as follows: "Alienated from her mother, Elizabeth Cady also looked to her father for support. Most people found David Cady stern and severe. To Elizabeth he seemed shy and sensitive and sympathetic to her desire to escape material discipline and training in domesticity. Her father, she recalled, had a childish love of fun and fresh air. . . . The mature Cady Stanton remembered that her father upheld her in her periodic rebellions against hated sewing sessions." And so on.

The pity is that Banner may have come across something unusually interesting without realizing it. It would be fascinating, and possibly instructive, to learn more about the role that fathers played in helping nineteenth-century feminist reformers rebel against domesticity and predetermined female roles. A tightly argued study informed by in-depth psychology would be necessary to make the case for or against the father-daughter nexus as the seedbed of feminist revolt.

The second major problem with Banner's *Stanton* is the fact that it is as diffuse, eclectic and inconsistent as Stanton finally was. Stanton's long career is a quintessentially American patchwork quilt of occasional brilliance, daunting courage, rationalized retreat, half-baked enthusiasms and contradictory espousals. Banner reproduces the confusion but fails to unravel it. That is, Banner recognizes and sets down in narrative form Stanton's many digressions; she offers an occasional quiet criticism, an infrequent partial judgment. But these go nowhere. We are left with a Stanton who "linked her feminist premises to whatever popular ideas—like republicanism, or Social Darwinism, or the notion of women's moral superiority—might strike a positive response in her audience and become a vehicle for persuasion. She wrote quickly and, like any able polemicist, did not always successfully eliminate contradictions." Surely there is more to be said. Why does this fate seem one to which *American* polemicists and reformers seem particularly susceptible?

Stanton, we are told, embraced both a monocausal explanation of the world's ills—"There was not one evil, she wrote, that could not be traced to the degradation of women"—and a potpourri of rhetorical calculations and reformist inclinations many of which flatly contradicted, or existed in tension with, one another. That Stanton's confusions were endemic to her age and were not hers alone is clear, but the social history remains so unspecified in Banner's account that we can make nothing cogent of it. It is not enough, in a serious biography and social history, to be told that, "like many liberal reformers of her age, disenchanted by the notable failures of religious missions, temperance crusades, penal reform and pauper relief, Cady Stanton looked to universal education as a cure for social ills" and then only four pages later to learn that "Cady Stanton's argument for biological influence contradicted her theories about cultural conditioning and disputed the Lockean tradition to which many contemporary writers were committed." Unless Stanton is to be dismissed as simply flighty, which she was not, we need to know more about the pressures at work on her and her contemporaries to produce such bizarre inconsistencies.

One strength of Banner's work must be noted—it does not gloss over Stanton's forays into class and race prejudice. Although she began her reformist career as a champion of abolition and black rights, Stanton was so incensed when voting rights were extended to black men but not to women, white or black, that she began to make a series of rather ignoble arguments against poor, uneducated blacks who were a "liability to the electorate and a danger to women." She came to favor educational qualifications as a basis for the franchise and "opposed extension of the franchise to the illiterate *and the irresponsible*, whether white or black." [Emphasis mine.] It was Stanton's mature view that educational qualifications for the ballot would enfranchise the "better sort" of women and "eliminate from the electorate lower-class, uneducated males, [who are] antifeminist and prone to violence." And, it must be noted, uneducated females. We have not seen the end of such presumptions in the articulation of feminist positions, as several of the recent feminist "classics" have demonstrated.

By the end of her extraordinary life, Stanton was happily extolling a kitsch combination of "the theory of coopera-

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tion," Fabian socialism, American individualism (the Robinson Crusoe metaphor dominates here), Malthusian birth control "as much to reduce the size of working-class families as to liberate all women," universal education and "Spencerian notions of inevitable struggle and progress" which led her to support American imperialism and to exonerate the United States Government's "violations of Indian rights." What on earth had happened to the idealistic young reformer who penned the stirring Declaration of Sentiments of 1848 and argued for women's rights on the grounds of simple justice? We must look to sources other than Banner's alternately pallid and peripatetic *Stanton* to find the answers. □

Nonreformist Reformers

BERTRAM GROSS

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY. *By Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer. M. L. Sharpe Inc. 393 pp. $15. Paper $7.95.*

Today, when progressives ask the old question, "What is to be done?" their premise often seems to be the contention that nothing progressive is now being done. The mass media reinforce the impression that all the big doings are the product of conservative ideologies which dominate the country, while the anti-establishment media concentrate their energies on exposing a few dirty tricks of the establishment. But there is no regular reporting on the many currents of activism that, while far from dominant, nonetheless provide some basis for looking forward to a new progressive movement in the future.

In *Economic Democracy,* Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer have taken a long step toward filling this vacuum. They begin by investigating the possible relevance to the United States of such structural reforms in Western Europe as public ownership, worker management, new approaches in collective bargaining, cooperatives, consumer activism, community organizing and national planning. They then look at structural reforms initiated in the United States itself. The result is an almost bewildering set of factual reports on old and new progressive ventures from one end of the country to another. All these doings are stitched together by a common thread: the effort to transfer parts of decision-making power from corporate oligarchies to workers, consumers and representatives of the people. The authors reject (or postpone until some later date) any socialist vision of a complete transformation to economic democracy. They emphasize, instead, the potential of slow accretions of "nonreformist reforms" based on a combination of grass-roots organization and nationwide political action.

One strength of the book is its realism. No reform proposal is presented without a frank recognition of its limitations. Thus, in discussing "pension plan socialism," they review the checkered history of pension plans since the Civil War and distinguish between various types of plans in order to set forth fully the tough problems that must be faced if workers and unions are to assert control over these huge aggregations of capital. They warn against public ownership that serves private interests, worker representation that degenerates into co-optation, workers' banks that provide jobs for union hacks and national planning that promotes corporate concentration. In discussing Sweden's conspicuous successes, they reject the simple transplantation of Swedish ideas for improving the welfare state and seeking full employment without inflation. Instead, they trace Sweden's achievements to the political power of a social democratic party backed up by 90 percent unionization of the labor force. Realistically, they see little likelihood that American unions will acquire such strength over the next decade or so. Rather, they root their suggestions for a semi-Swedish approach to job programs in the experience of the California State Department of Employment Planning. This leads to a well-reasoned call for local public works, relocation grants and retraining programs that are "publicly run, not contracted to a potpourri of private contractors as was the case with the Job Corps or other current U.S. training programs."

This valuable book also reports on the work of numerous social scientists whose articles, books and monographs are little known in liberal and radical circles: William Shepherd, Lloyd Musolf, Gordon Adams, Ken Hughes and John Sheahan on public and quasi-public enterprises; Paul Bernstein, Edward Greenberg and William Whyte on worker-owned enterprises; Alfred Diamant on worker participation; Mordecai Kurz on economic power; Edward Herman and Kenneth Rosen on trust and pension funds; Derek Jones on cooperatives; Barry Stein, Barry Noble, Stanley Boyle and Tom Bender on democratic technology; Sidney Baldwin, Earl Heady, Catherine Lerza, Richard Merrill and Frank Smith on agriculture and food. This is part of the Carnoy-Shearer effort to meet one of the great needs of any progressive movement—"the need," as they put it, "for movement members to communicate with one another"—the need to reach out to potential supporters with information and analysis. Toward this end, they also provide an appendix that gives thumbnail sketches (with addresses) of such "organizational resources" as the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives, the Institute for Self Reliance, the National Association of Housing Cooperatives and the New School of Democratic Management.

The biggest organizational resource of all, they hold, would be a Democratic Party transformed into a force for economic democracy. One would need another book, however, to deal with all the obstacles to this reform. Nevertheless, expanding and improving upon the efforts reviewed in this book could help overcome such obstacles and might also counter tendencies toward creeping corporatism. Thus, *Economic Democracy* not only provides valuable social indicators on democratic currents; it also offers invaluable guidelines to all those seeking to establish true democracy in America. We need many more such books before 1984. □

Bertram Gross is Distinguished Professor in the urban affairs department of Hunter College. The possibility of "true democracy" is a major theme of his Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America *(M. Evans).*

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Durable Time Piece

RICHARD ELMAN

THE BIG CLOCK. *By Kenneth Fearing. A Perennial Library, Harper & Row Paperback reissue. 280 pp. $1.95.*

When it was first published in 1946, *The Big Clock* was an intellectual's crime novel; it had social significance. The murderer—and later self-murdering victim of his own unpremeditated rages—was a stewardly, self-pitying bully who resembled the late Henry Luce.

Much of the action of the novel also took place in the offices of a publishing conglomerate very much like Time Inc. With prophetic accuracy, Kenneth Fearing depicted the Earl Janoth Enterprises as the publishers of *Personalities* (fictive forerunner to Time's *People* magazine), as well as *Sexes* and the newsmag *Newsways*. All were staffed with hacks, intellectuals *manqués* and the other callow disaffected types whom we now recognize and refer to as "the media."

Like Raymond Chandler, Fearing started out as a poet. He was an original at giving the impression of improvisation—the metropolitan beat. He had, moreover, an artist's quick distrust of commerce, and he polarized the argument of *Clock* between the money-grubbing hacks employed by Janoth Enterprises, and the genuine artist-painter Louise Paterson.

Fearing's protagonist and chief narrator, George Stroud, is also one of the Janoth boys, although he is redeemed by his open cynicism. This misogynistic philanderer is endowed with a certain Chandleresque, epigrammatic charm: "She was tall, ice-blonde, and splendid," he says of the soon-to-be-murdered Pauline Delos, Janoth's mistress, with whom he will commence an affair: "The eye saw nothing but innocence, to the instincts she was undiluted sex, the brain said here was a perfect hell."

That Pauline's last name may remind us of Grecian love is not coincidental; she brings Janoth to his murderous ecstasy of jealousy for her affairs with women, as well as men, and he bashes her skull with a decanter, I suppose, because no amphorae were available in her 40s Manhattan flat. To save his own skin, Janoth, with his homosexual chum, Hagen, will have their employee Stroud combing the city for somebody who was with Pauline that night (Stroud, of course, though they still don't know that) to be their fall guy.

So *The Big Clock* contains all the elements of a cautionary pop fable about instinct versus property. An angry book, it uses its considerable slickness and knowing metropolitan details to depict the sellout of the radical intellectuals of Fearing's time: "*Newsways, Crimeways, Personalities* . . . overrunning with frustrated ex-artists, scientists, farmers, writers, explorers, poets, lawyers, doctors, musicians, all of whom spent their lives conforming . . . to a sort of overgrown aimless haphazard stenciling . . . why should I pay more tribute to this fatal machine? It would be easier and simpler to get squashed stripping its gears than to be crushed helping it along. . . ."

Such broad characterization may seem a little too recognizable to us in the 1980s, but it also seems all-too-generally true about those who take jobs at *Time* and *Newsweek* seriously; and the characterization is central to the plot of *The Big Clock* because once George Stroud recognizes his own worth, and ceases to be a company man, he is able to extricate himself from the complications of the murderous Janoth machine. In other words, in the novel's value system, owning anything, as Louise Paterson's generous response to the acquisition of her paintings will demonstrate, must be based on love.

And what fun Fearing has with the smog of critical prose we now call *Time*-style. To frame his mistress's putative lover, Janoth agrees to have *Newsways* hype Louise's paintings in order that their value becomes so inflated that the whereabouts of one crucial piece of evidence can emerge: "Homunculous grows to monstrous size, with all the force of a major explosion, by grace of a new talent shooting meteorlike, etc. . . . "

Rereading *The Big Clock*, so many years later, reminded me of how all popular forms inevitably parody their subjects, even when they are engaged in serious criticism. □

Richard Elman is the author of the recently published spy novel The Breadfruit Lotteries *(Methuen) and many other books.*

'My-Art-Is-My-Politics'

LUCY LIPPARD

PISSARRO: His Life and Work. *By Ralph E. Shikes and Paula Harper. Horizon Press. 362 pp. (Illustrated) $24.95.*

Camille Pissarro didn't cut his ear off or run away to Tahiti or even indulge in affairs with his models. Perhaps that is why this is the first full biography of a man often called the founder of Impressionism. Ralph Shikes and Paula Harper have provided an honest portrait of an honest man—as solid and likable as their subject—while adding depth to his popular nice-guy image. They have also provided a lucid and fascinating portrait of the Second Empire, of the Impressionist movement and of several of its participants, particularly Cézanne, Monet, Degas, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Signac—all of whom acknowledged their esthetic debts to Pissarro.

The authors are well equipped to handle such a complex picture. Shikes wrote *The Indignant Eye,* about the artist as social critic, and publishes *The Washington Spectator*; Harper is a socialist and feminist who has taught nineteenth-century art history in this country and in England. Between them, they deftly combine social history and biography with a formal analysis of the artist's huge *oeuvre* (some 2,000 paintings, not to mention prints and drawings). Working from hitherto unpublished family letters with much new data about Pissarro's youth, and using primary sources almost exclusively, they often gently reverse accepted notions about Pissarro without engaging in name dropping or internecine academic warfare. My only complaint is that some of the 200 illustrations are not dated. Since this problem arises in the

Lucy Lippard is the author of several books on contemporary art, among them From the Center: Feminist Essays on Women's Art *(E. P. Dutton). She is a member of the collective that publishes* Heresies.

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text as well, a chronological outline would have been welcome.

Pissarro's tale may be a quiet one, but it also has its heroic aspects. Although raised in a merchant family in the Virgin Islands, from the birth of his first child in Paris by a family servant, his life epitomized the classic conflict between making art and making a living —a conflict as familiar today as it was in the 1880s. After their third child, Pissarro finally married Julie Vellay, much against his family's will, but remained partly dependent on his parents for financial support until he was 42. Periods of terrible hardship recurred until his death, at which time he was supporting all of his children plus two grandchildren. In a poignant letter from the summer of 1887, he said simply, "wind, rain, and not a penny." Julie, without a passion for art to sustain her, took the brunt of their grinding poverty and of raising their six children. She regarded her husband as "an innocent"; that same summer, when Pissarro was 57, she wrote to her eldest son that she had contemplated suicide by drowning with the two youngest: "I have no money and nobody will give me credit. What are we to do? We are eight at home to be fed every day. When dinner time comes I cannot say to them 'wait'—this stupid word your father repeats and repeats. I am at the end of my tether, and what is worse, have no courage left."

Small wonder that in 1878 Pissarro claimed to "have had enough of this depressing art. . . . What good is art? Can it be eaten? No. Oh well." Then, as now, a large family was considered incompatible with the artist's life. Yet on the happier side, the book includes a touching chapter about family life in the beautiful but isolated village of Eragny—scenes of nights around the kerosene lamp, Julie sewing, Camille correcting the children's drawings, the children collaborating on a delighful satirical review. (All his offspring were talented; the five boys, and several grandchildren and great grandchildren, all became artists—to Julie's horror.) One begins to understand where Camille (if not Julie) got the emotional strength to withstand his endless setbacks and to be a father figure to his artist friends as well. Everyone was always telling him he was just about to make it, and real success often seemed within his grasp. It inevitably evaporated in the wake of national or art-world economic crises—or as the result of his own integrity.

Raised in a slave society, Pissarro was a young painter in Venezuela when slavery was abolished there; he had gone to school in France in the 1840s and returned to Paris in 1855 amid the continued social upheaval there. Not suprisingly, he was early attracted to anarchism, and was influenced by Proudhon's (and later Kropotkin's) theories of art as a means of educating the public to understand social injustices, and by Courbet's realism. (Champfleury wrote of Courbet at the time: "No one wants to admit that a stonebreaker is equal to a prince. The aristocracy is infuriated to see so many feet of canvas devoted to common people; only sovereigns have the right to be painted full-size.") Pissarro experimented briefly with direct criticism of the class system but soon returned to the philosophical anarchism that idealized rural peasant life as simpler and more honest than that of the urban factory worker. Though never an activist, he was committed to anarchism all his life, giving money he could ill afford for defense funds and for the printing bills

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of little magazines, providing illustrations for those magazines and encouraging his sons to do the same, maintaining close friendships with activist leaders even when it was dangerous to do so. He rejected art as propaganda, however, and his only overtly political work was a series of satirical drawings called "Turpitudes Sociales" with captions drawn from his friend Jean Grave's review, *La Révolte*.

One of the most interesting aspects of this book is its lively image of the Impressionists arguing and discussing both art and politics as they moved toward group action in the first artist-organized exhibitions. They rejected what their friend Zola called "art with its face washed, its hair carefully combed; like a worthy bourgeois in a white shirt." And they all suffered for it. Pissarro was the only one of the original Impressionist group to show in all eight independent exhibitions. The failure in 1874 of the first one, on which so many hopes had rested, coincided with the death of his 9-year-old daughter Minette and another financial crisis. "Comes the good revolution," wrote his friend Ludovic Piette wryly, "each bourgeois will be forced in perpetuity to buy at least two paintings a year from artists."

The Impressionists' political positions veered here and there over the years, affected by world events and by their own successes and failures; their personal relationships followed suit. The anti-Semite Degas never spoke to his old friend Pissarro after the Dreyfus affair. Renoir, always a reactionary, complained in 1882 that "to exhibit with Pissarro, Gauguin and Guillaumin is as if I were to exhibit with some sort of socialist group. . . . The public doesn't like what smells of politics." Yet they all knew that artistic radicalism was associated with political radicalism. The structure of the short-lived Cooperative Association of Artists was modeled after a baker's union, and in a later incarnation was called "l'Union." Officialdom had already claimed that the relatively harmless Barbizon school was "the painting of democrats, of people who don't change their linen." The Impressionists' challenge to the government-backed establishment was taken very seriously. "One more step," wrote Gustave Geffroy, "and their paintings would have been handed over to the firing squad."

Anarchism's rejection of authority was, of course, particularly attractive to artists, who had not yet confronted the contradictions inherent in their position as token "free agents" in a society where such freedom is not available to all. Pissarro's youthful hatred of imperialism, his mistrust of all authority and his immense compassion for the oppressed were surely fueled by his own identity as a provincial, a Jew and a "penniless bourgeois" in a snobbish, materialistic and anti-Semitic society. However dependent he was on the despised bourgeoisie to buy his work, he tended to take the "my-art-is-my-politics" stance that was perhaps more believable then than it is now. "All the arts are anarchist," he wrote to Octave Mirbeau, "when [they are] beautiful and good." Shikes and Harper note that if there is any overt ideology in Pissarro's work, "it is humanistic empathy with his subjects."

Pissarro defined himself as a "rustic" and was already so inclined when Corot told him in 1855, "Go into the country. The muse is in the woods." He lived in the country most of his life, though partly for obvious economic reasons. While he did not agree with Kropotkin that an artist had to work as a peasant to paint peasants, he saw his canvases of peasants in the fields as fusions of his esthetics and his politics—representing, as Shikes and Harper observe, "the anarchist ideal, working cooperatively, free of the harsh effects of industrialization, governed only by nature's needs and cycles." He admired Constable, who wrote: "No arrogant man was ever permitted to see nature in all her beauty." Pissarro himself said, "Happy are the artists who see beauty in the modest places where others see nothing"; and Mirbeau said of him, "He doesn't believe that a painter should be a superterrestrial being, outside and above humanity." Michel Melot has remarked that Pissarro's peasants "blend into nature in a kind of degrading harmony." Pissarro obviously identified with their toil in a general rather than a specific way (they rarely have individualized faces), but Degas was right in distinguishing his figures from Millet's more sentimental ones: "Millet's His *Sower* is sowing for Man[illegible] Pissarro's peasants are working to make a living."

With his passion for and sensitivity to color and light, and his ceaseless attempts to improve his technique so he could communicate the truth of what he saw, Pissarro was a realist, aspiring neither to Monet's level of abstraction, Van Gogh's expressionism, or Gauguin's symbolism (which he saw as a "plague"). He told the young Matisse that "an Impressionist is a painter who never makes the same painting twice." His willingness to be influenced by younger men has led to accusations that he followed every trend, but Shikes and Harper make the point that he was always willing to experiment in the hope of improvement, which was perfectly consistent with his philosophy, politics and esthetics. Braquemond said of him, "This is not a man, but a bowsprit!" He influenced most of the important artists of his time far more than they did him, yet he had a youthful and open mind. It was through his son Lucien that he discovered the "scientific" theories of color and light used by the much younger Seurat and Signac, and he joined them briefly as a "Neo-Impressionist"—another setback to his career. He saw "the dot" as a way to become more "objective," in the process breaking with the "romantic" branch of his old Impressionist colleagues. Though he soon tired of the tedious precision of the new technique (which also restricted his necessary prolificacy), he returned to a broader Impressionist brushstroke with a new and confident luminosity. In 1887 Jules Desclozeau wrote, "Camille Pissarro has painted a field bathed in sunlight, whose forms, colors and reflection are admirably synthesized. It is more *field* than any field we have seen." In this he prefigured a great deal of modernist abstraction, as he did by being the first to insist on plain white frames for his canvases because the fashionably ornate gold prisons overwhelmed the art.

Having painted *plein-air* all his life, Pissarro worried that he would become an official "studio artist" when at 63 he was finally able to build a real studio. In 1897, as result of the reluctantly accepted Caillebotte Bequest, Pissarro's work and that of other Impressionists entered the Luxembourg. The academic painter Gérôme was still calling their work "filth." Three months before his death, Pissarro quietly noted in a letter to Lucien that the Louvre had bought two paintings. The year before, he had completed fifty-two canvases, but sadly, his last letter to his son showed that once again he was in financial trouble: "I am hardly besieged by demands. . . .

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I see that we are far from being understood—quite far—even by our friends."

Pissarro did not find it necessary to choose between art and life, or art and politics, but fully devoted himself to both. When he died in 1903 (ironically, a victim of his belief in homeopathic medicine, which delayed surgery), Frantz Jourdain wrote, "He defended the truth, not only in art but in society." One of the reasons this book is so valuable is that it provides an example still needed today, an example of an artist who did just that. □

Courting Disaster

ARTHUR SAINER

MAN IN THE HOLOCENE. *By Max Frisch. Translated by Geoffrey Skelton. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 279 pp. $7.95.*

Max Frisch, Swiss playwright and novelist, has stories to tell and he tells them wonderfully, but he also flits in and out of that area where literature reads like a small tract wedged primly into a box of medicinal tablets. Such flitting threatens the fiction's adventure by issuing therapeutic signals, and yet Frisch's narrative finally proves resistant to these dangers.

Man in the Holocene brings to mind Frisch's best-known play, *The Firebugs (Biedermann und die Brandstifter),* 1959. The latter play acts as a parable of political man's inability to recognize and resist the forces of fascism. Liberal, rational Biedermann finds himself harboring in his attic a well-spoken thug who gives off strong hints of pyromania; the situation cries out for stern measures, for hurling this potential home-burner into the street, and yet some enervating force prevents Biedermann from seeing and acting properly. He continues to rationalize the behavior of his guest when a second thug with incendiary cravings allies himself with the first in the attic, and even when an inventory of the attic reveals an alarming supply of dynamite.

In *Man in the Holocene*, natural forces are the potential killers. The hero, Geiser, dwells in an Alpine valley in the canton of Ticino, an area long prey to landslides, floods and quakes. As the tale begins, it has rained for days, rockfalls have effectively sealed off the one highway to the outside world, and Geiser half expects that the village will be wiped out by the collapse of sections of the mountain. Like Biedermann, Geiser spends much of his energy observing the accumulating evidence of disaster. Although Geiser is more alive to the possibilities of disaster than Biedermann, his fellow townspeople behave as if no catastrophe were imminent, and even he does little more throughout much of the novel than muse, chart and reflect upon his habitat

Arthur Sainer is on the faculty of the theater and cinema department of Hunter College. He is a novelist and playwright whose most recent play is Sunday Childhood Journeys to Nobody at Home.

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in the long, seemingly endless tract of geologic time. But at one point, Geiser, at some cost to himself, does test the only possible escape route: the often treacherous path up and through the mountains. After discovering that he can actually negotiate his way out, skirting deep gorges, gingerly fording swift-running streams, slipping over and eventually crawling through drenched, tangled roots, Geiser nevertheless turns his back on escape and struggles home.

What unites these two works of Frisch is the unsettling notion that some rational, well-meaning force is actually *willing* catastrophe. In both cases, this willing appears as a collaboration between the leading character and Frisch. Imminent disaster, man-made or natural, has always had its attractions: it promises solidity, clarity and resolution. To be Swiss is to exist in that splendid wooded sanctuary between territories overrun and decimated by one terrible war after another; to be Swiss is, in short, to be in a state of perpetual yet uneasy reprieve. And out of this unease comes the uneasy cohabitation of nurturance and the will to disaster in this sturdy, fitful, philosophical adventure tale. □

A Searing Objectivity

JACK HOLLAND

POEMS 1962-1978. *By Derek Mahon. Oxford University Press. 117 pp. $8.95.*

Since the mid-1960s, several Northern Irish poets have made their presence felt in the English literary world. The most praised, Seamus Heaney, has been hailed by some critics as a major poet—the most important since William Butler Yeats. There is now a growing interest in his work in America. Like Heaney, Derek Mahon has established himself in England as a considerable talent. His three volumes of poems have now been gathered into *Poems 1962-1978,* which will serve as a good introduction to his work for American readers.

There they will find a poetry that is poised, scrupulous and reserved. Irony is generally on hand to prevent escape into confessional self-indulgence. Like all good Irish poets, he does not fear artifice, nor does he eschew the offhand, conversational tone. He is very much a poet of light and form, at times pursuing a definition of Stephen Dedalus's "Ineluctable modality of the visible," as in the series "Light Music":

1. Architecture.
Twinkletoes in the ballroom,
Light music in space.

2. History.
The blinking puddles
reflected daylong
twilights of misery.

Smoke rose in silence
to the low sky.

3. Negatives.
Gulls in a rain-dark cornfield,
crows on a sunlit sea.

4. North Sea.
The terminal light of beaches,
pebbles speckled with oil;
old tins at the tide-line
where a gull blinks on a pole.

In "Mayo Tao" he strives to express a Beckett-like reluctance to express:

I have stood for hours watching
a salmon doze
in the tea-cold dark,
for weeks watching a spider weave
in a pale light, for months
listening to the sob-story
of a stone on the road—
the best, most monotonous
sob-story I have ever heard.

I am an expert on frost crystals
and the silence of crickets
a confidant of the stinking shore
the stars in the mud.

(There is an immanence in these things
which drives me, despite
my skepticism, almost
to the point of speech—
like sunlight cleaving
the lake mist at morning
or when tepid water runs cold at last
from the tap.)

Mahon frequently shows a verbal sensitivity which is refined to a delicate sensuousness:

Even now there are places where
a thought might grow—
Peruvian mines, worked out and
abandoned
To a slow clock of condensation,
An echo trapped forever, and a flutter
Of wildflowers in a lift-shaft,
(—"A Disused Shed in Co. Wexford")

Technically, Mahon's work is varied. He handles the long line with dexterity, as he does the octosyllabic couplet; he can rhyme unobtrusively, without jarring syntax, and can produce the sorts of matter-of-fact prosy poems more in keeping with contemporary taste. His early mentor was Louis MacNeice—like Mahon, a Belfast-born Protestant. Though his occasional flights of flamboyant rhetoric are generally more successful than MacNeice's, Mahon shares his honest skepticism; both, when at

Jack Holland is an Irish writer who comes from Belfast. His book on Northern Ireland, Too Long a Sacrifice, *will be published by Dodd Mead next spring.*

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their best, also share the urge to pay homage to the object as it is, to refine perception of the thing down to an ingenuous clarity.

In spite of his background, Mahon has little to say about the position of the poet amid Northern Ireland's troubles, except the occasional ironic comment:

> Somewhere beyond the scorched
> gable end and the burnt out buses
> there is a poet indulging
> his wretched rage for order—
> or not as the case may be; for his
> is a dying art,
> an eddy of semantic scruples
> in an inscrutable sea.
> (—"Rage For Order")

His restraint of the issue is as refreshing as the lack of it in so many other Irish poets is nauseating.

Part of the reason that Mahon is not better known here is that he belongs to an Irish literary tradition not much appreciated in America—or England, for that matter. It is an urban tradition, as indubitably Irish as James Joyce or Samuel Beckett or Sean O'Casey. It shares the prevailing moods of Irish poetry—bitterness, melancholy, tenderness; but it has a powerful ironic edge to it and a searing objectivity. Its esthetic and ontological complexities do not fit in with the rural/pastoral stereotype of the Irish poet dear to certain cultural circles—a stereotype that would lead, say, to a preference for Heaney's work. It is to be hoped that Mahon's poetry will introduce that other—urban—tradition of Irish writing to new readers, who will find it a challenging and sometimes radical one. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Willie & Phil

Paul Mazursky's *Willie & Phil* is said to be an affectionate, satiric look at the American middle class. Mazursky's *An Unmarried Woman*, and his films generally, are said to be that. Certainly they are amiable, if a little patronizing, but I doubt they cut deep enough for satire. The present one records the foibles of some floating atoms in our bourgeoisie. There is the generation gap and the search for identity, the swapping of bed partners and the experimentation with drugs and cults. Says Mazursky, "I think the middle class are as noble a subject as the Medicis or the farm workers," which is patently true, since nobility is in the eye of the beholder. I'm not convinced that Mazursky's eye is keen enough.

Or it may be that he goes about his work the wrong way. The right way to produce a story, I'm told, is to create some characters of promising complexity, put them in touch with one another and let happen what must. My impression is that Mazursky first puts together his narrative, thinking hard about visual effects and planning an efficient shooting schedule, then drops the characters into their assigned stations. The result is that they somewhat resemble mannequins in a glibly topical window display. They don't spin the plot; it spins them.

Willie & Phil is about two young men, sworn friends for life, who fall in love with the same woman. Mazursky inserts references to *Jules et Jim*, seeming to invite comparison with François Truffaut's use of this reliable theme. It is evidence of self-confidence, but I'm not sure it was wise. Willie Kaufman and Phil d'Amico, a nice Jewish boy and an equally nice Italian, meet and are simultaneously captivated by Jeannette Sutherland, a nice country girl from Kentucky. They agree, faced with this impasse, to "become a threesome . . . their destinies interlocked forever." They keep reassuring themselves on that score for nine years, during which Jeannette shuttles between the two other angles of the triangle and the parent generation becomes increasingly uneasy. She produces a baby; Willie takes her to Vermont and grows a beard; Phil goes to Hollywood and Malibu Beach. Finally she grows tired of a situation in which nobody can take a stand on anything, ditches both gents and takes up with a blond folk dancer, late of the U.S.S.R. Willie and Phil, a voice assures us, eventually marry and live happily thereafter. I tired before Jeannette did, because the three of them are objects to look at, like the water bed in the Manhattan loft and the hot tub on the Pacific shore, the steps above the Ganges and the Kentucky horses at pasture. *Jules et Jim* was about confused people; *Willie & Phil* is about making a movie full of O.K. topicality. The leads are taken by Michael Ontkean and Margot Kidder, Canadians, and by Ray Sharkey of Brooklyn. They are all handsome and deserving of parts, whether noble or not, with the breath of life in them. □

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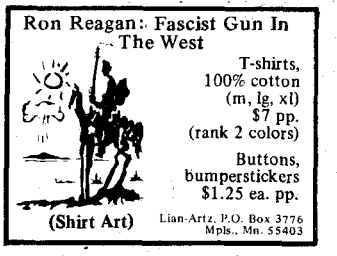
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PERIODICALS

CODA The Jazz Magazine—since 1958 a source of information, records & books. Sample copy $1.00. Dept. N, Box 87, Station J, Toronto, Ont. M4J 4X8 Canada.

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E. P. Thompson: "Exterminism—The Last Stage of Civilization" in **"NEW LEFT REVIEW,"** #21; single copies: $3.50; subs: $18; Dept. NLR, 7 Carlisle St., London, W1.

NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS: An Interview with Daniel Ellsberg. The story of the bombs around us and their use. Conservation Press, Box 201, 2526 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704. 75¢/copy; 45¢ ea. add. copy (incl. postage).

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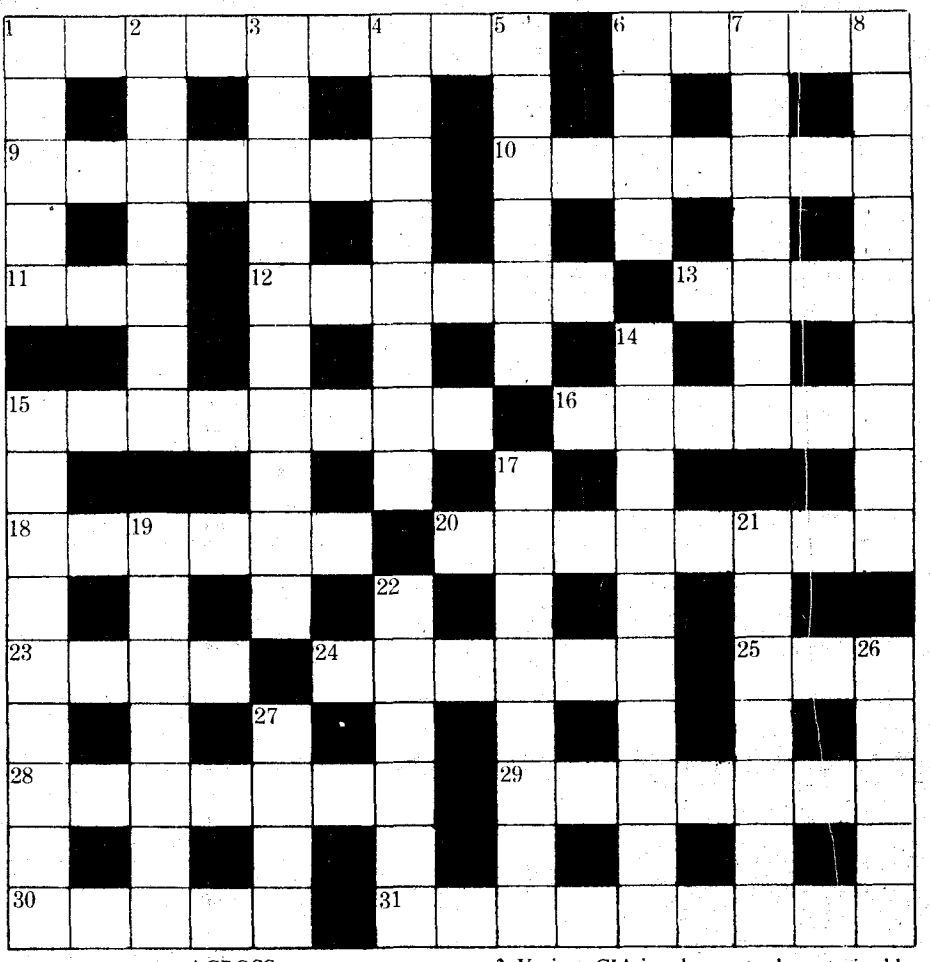

ACROSS

1 Someplace to sleep, with a piece of old cloth on a broken leg, just to make it dirty. (9)
6 Huxley's Hay? What a caper! (5)
9 The fruit of havoc—a double portion. (7)
10 Amber is supposed to bring it out in you. (7)
11 and 13 Being not very bright, pressed a suit with little sign of depression. (7)
12 Sort of singer-cum-painter? (6)
13 See 11 across
15 Would it be a disadvantage if panic had broken out? (8)
16 A main arm, long and narrow—not in Russia, despite the implication. (3,3)
18 See 22 down
20 Gets by artful persuasion, with a childish expression when the sled gets broken. (8)
23 See 25 across
24 How the nomad might live by design. (6)
25, 23 and 1 down Corporate chairman—at a time when someone might have that sinking feeling! (3,9)
28 Packing a barrel, perhaps—you might hear a report of the results, later. (7)
29 Is the road not torn up—obviously so, with a good deal of commotion? (7)
30 Perfect motto for Wheeler, possibly. (5)
31 Sets and sets on building material, possibly! (9)

DOWN

1 See 25 across
2 Sort of what goes with 1 down as a sign of food and lodgings—but one just stands at the entrance. (7)
3 Various CIA involvements characterized by a design to gain wealth. (10)
4 Carter, perhaps, but not necessarily between 1714 and 1830. (8)
5 Avoid part of the mistakes Che warned of. (6)
6 See 22 down
7 Is safe, but doesn't quite make it home after the delivery. (7)
8 Incas and a different group of Americans, as well. (9)
14 Not a real mouthful for some, about to exist as something like bonds. (10)
15 The people of Greece? (3,6)
17 Give an ominous indication to make the rent a problem. (8)
19 It might be mean to allege as a fact how old one is. (7)
21 It implies there might be trouble in back. (7)
22, 6 down and 18 across A comparatively close fit—but what a low-down place for a listening device! (4,2,1,3,2,1,3)
26 Point shortly taken up as a snare, possibly. (5)
27 On the face of things, laid up. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1834

ACROSS: 1 Field of vision; 10 Sudan; 11 Noiseless; 12 Racehorse; 13 Snafu; 14 Nothing doing; 19 Anthropology; 22 Grant; 24 Radiology; 25 Nightfall; 26 Lasso; 27 Search warrant. DOWN: 2 Indict; 3 Lunch hour; 4 Ownership; 5 Voice; 6 Slews; 7 Operatic; 8 Usury; 9 Assuage; 15 Nile delta; 16 Dog collar; 17 Tangent; 18 Strangle; 20 Tocsin; 21 Byron; 23 Tutor; 24 Reach.

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